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# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

JAN 30 1911

FEBRUARY, 1911

Congressional Reapportionment  
Electing Senators in Many States  
Justice Lamar of the Supreme Court  
Balloons in Battle—Civil War Photographs  
ADAMS COUNTY'S LESSON TO THE NATION  
“The Royal Children”—A Fairy Tale in Music  
Congestion and the Housing Problem  
Potash and the American Farmer  
China Awake and at Work

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# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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### PRESIDENT-ELECT VINCENT, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

(Dr. George Edgar Vincent, dean of the Faculties of Arts, Literature, and Science in the University of Chicago, and president of the Chautauqua Institution, has been chosen president of the University of Minnesota, to succeed Dr. Cyrus Northrup, who resigned two years ago, after he had been president for more than twenty-five years. Dr. Vincent is a son of Bishop John H. Vincent, the founder of Chautauqua, and has himself been identified with the work of that institution almost from its beginnings. He has also had an important part in the development of the Chicago University since that institution was opened. As its dean he has shown unusual talent for administration. The University of Minnesota, whose head he now becomes, is regarded as the richest of all State universities. In the public lands which were set apart for it many years ago there have been discovered great quantities of iron ore. It has been estimated that the university fund, by natural growth, will exceed \$250,000,000 fifty years hence. The university is in every sense a State institution, for the people of the State are behind it and are supporting it generously)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Senators by Popular Vote* Many years ago, but for the obstructive attitude of the Senate itself, the country would have adopted the plan of electing United States Senators by popular vote. If this had been done, some painful scandals would have been avoided; the United States Senate would have been a body of higher average mentality and moral character; the State legislatures would have been relieved of a function for which everybody now knows that they are unfitted in the very nature of the case. There is prospect that this long-delayed reform may soon be accomplished. The Democrats in their national platforms have declared for the popular election of Senators, and the Republican masses in every State of the Union are in favor of the change. The Constitution declares that the "Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators for each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote." The prescribed method of amending the Constitution is by vote of Congress and ratification in the States. A proposed amendment must have a two-thirds affirmative vote of each house of Congress, and must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. The States are quite ready to ratify in the case of an amendment providing for the popular election of Senators.

*The Borah Report* The only difficulty has been to persuade the Senate itself to give the States an opportunity to express their preference on the subject. On January 9, the Senate Committee on Judiciary voted in favor of reporting the amendment favorably to the full Senate. The decision was reached by a vote of 10 to 2. The two objectors were Senators Depew of New York and Dillingham of Vermont. It is fair to explain, on behalf of Senator Depew, that

his objection was urged, not on the main point of the amendment, but on its exact phrasing. Since the Senators, when elected, are officials not of the States but of the United States, Mr. Depew thinks that the Constitutional provision authorizing popular choice should reserve to Congress the right to prescribe certain conditions governing the election. The amendment as pending leaves the details to the States. Southern Senators have regarded Mr. Depew's suggestions as in conflict with their present laws restricting the suffrage. It is the commonly accepted view that the voters in the States who elect the legislatures should vote directly for United States Senators. The resolution was reported on January 11, by Senator Borah, of Idaho. The committee presented an elaborate array of



ELECTING A UNITED STATES SENATOR  
(Boss Murphy on the job)—*The World* (New York)



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**SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO**

(Who has had the honor to report from the Committee on Judiciary, for the first time in all the years during which such bills have been pending, a resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution prescribing the direct popular election of Senators)

facts and arguments in its report, showing conclusively the reasons for a change in the method of electing Senators. Opponents of the change, like Senator Hale, of Maine, and Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, were energetic in trying to find ways to prevent the fixing of a time for a vote. But the subject is one that has now for years been thoroughly studied and discussed by the whole country, and there is no reason for further delay. Senator Borah will have been justified in forcing the matter to a vote at this session, throwing the responsibility for a possible extra session where it must clearly belong, upon an obstructive and mischievous minority. For it is well known that more than the requisite

two-thirds of the Senate favor the resolution and are prepared to vote upon it.

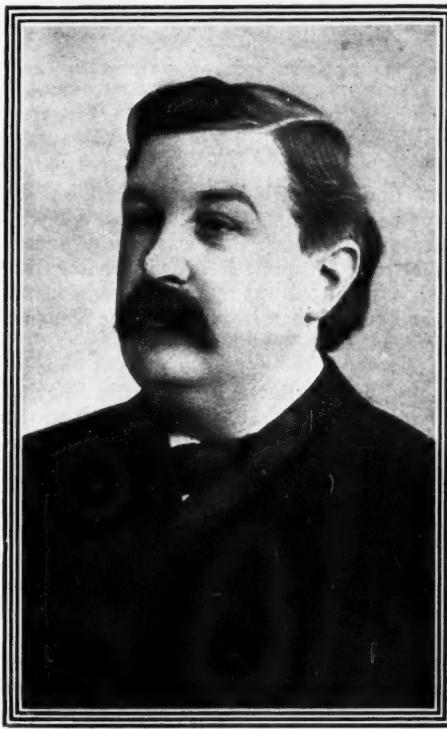
Lorimer  
as an  
*Object-Lesson*

Surely the country has had all the object-lessons along this line that it needs. At this very time the Senate is compelled to bear the humiliation and disgrace of the pending Lorimer case, all because of its contemptuous refusal in the past to heed the demand of the country in favor of popular Senatorial elections. The Illinois Legislature that sent Mr. Lorimer to the Senate was deadlocked for many weeks and unable to perform its proper duties as the law-making body of the State because of its subjection to the gameplayed by the desperate

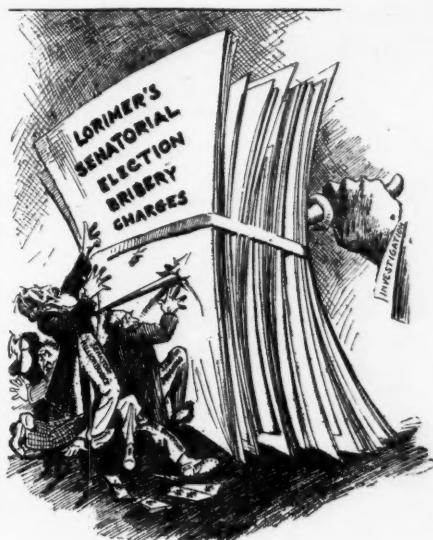
and unscrupulous interests that were contending over the choice of a Senator. There was no scandal in the election of a Governor for the State of Illinois, and if it had been left to the direct decision of the voters whether they wished to give Senator Hopkins another term or preferred somebody else, a decision would have been reached that could not have been brought into question. Lorimer would never have been a candidate before the people of the State of Illinois, for under no circumstances would they have elected him to the Senate. He has been a powerful, though often unsuccessful, political boss in Chicago, and he and his friends knew how to provide the inducements that finally broke the Hopkins deadlock and elected Lorimer. The confessions of men who had been concerned with the giving and taking of large money bribes, and the subsequent evidence developed in prosecutions in the Illinois courts, have made it plain to all readers just how the thing was done.

*How Illinois Feels About It*

If the people of Illinois, regardless of party, could to-day express their opinion upon the usefulness of the present method of electing United States Senators, their verdict against it would



Photograph by Cinedinst  
SENATOR LORIMER, OF ILLINOIS



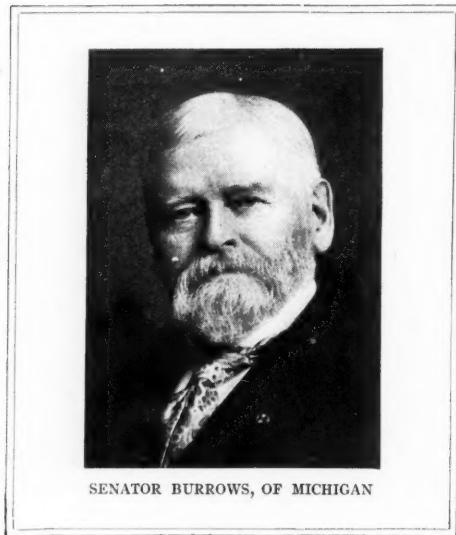
PROBING THOSE BRIBERY CHARGES MAY STIR UP SOMETHING

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)

be well-nigh unanimous. They have seen their Legislature demoralized and held up to the scorn and derision of the entire country. They have seen it rendered unfit for its task of legislation by reason of undue strain and excitement over an election that the people themselves could have managed without embarrassment. They now witness the spectacle of the United States Senate diverted from its appropriate duties and engaged in a restudying of the disgusting details of legislative corruption at Springfield. There is nothing whatever that commends the present system to the people of Illinois, and there is much that condemns it. Mr. Lorimer is a man who has been used to fighting his way all his life, and it is not strange that he should be unable to see the impropriety of his fighting to keep his seat in the Senate. A man whose standards of honor comport with the dignity of the Senatorial office would have resigned his seat when the scandals were unearthed in Illinois, and gone back to clear up his record.

*The Case Before the Senate*

The fact that Senator Burrows and the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections should in December have brought in a report vindicating Lorimer could not change the facts that trials in court had brought before the entire country. Senator Frazier, of Tennessee, disagreed with Senator Burrows and the majority, while Senator Beveridge, of



SENATOR BURROWS, OF MICHIGAN

Indiana, who had been a less active member of the committee, did not concur in the majority report and announced that he would take further time to study the evidence before deciding upon his course. The majority, of course, found that there had been bribery and that several members of the Legislature had unquestionably taken money for giving their votes to Lorimer. But the committee did not conclusively ascertain that Lorimer was himself directly guilty of crime in these transactions, and Mr. Burrows and the majority also took the ground that they were not sure that enough legislators had been bribed to

have made Lorimer's election otherwise impossible. This was a very narrow position to take and one that is most compromising to the dignity of any legislative body. Senator Frazier, in his minority report, took the ground that the evidence, reasonably construed, implicated enough members of the Legislature to have made Lorimer's election turn upon those transactions. It must be remembered that Lorimer and his associates were at Springfield actively conducting the Lorimer canvass. It is not easy to believe



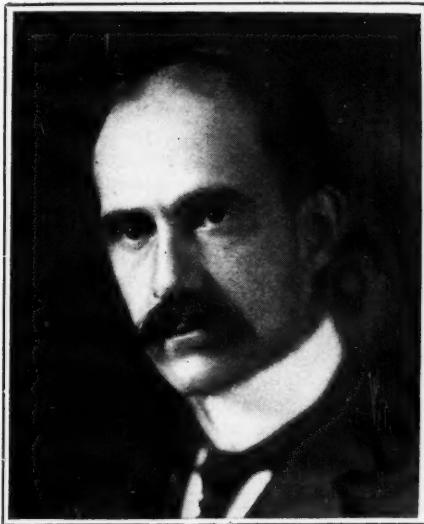
SENATOR BEVERIDGE POURING A LITTLE MINORITY REPORT INK INTO THE WHITEWASH OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE LORIMER CASE  
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



AT LAST?  
The old gentleman (Direct Election of Senators) has been waiting in the Senate anteroom for many years  
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

that Lorimer, with his past record, should have been ignorant, in a general way, of the nature of the work that was being done in his behalf. It would seem as if Senator Burrows' committee was much more anxious to clear Lorimer than to vindicate the honor of the Senate.

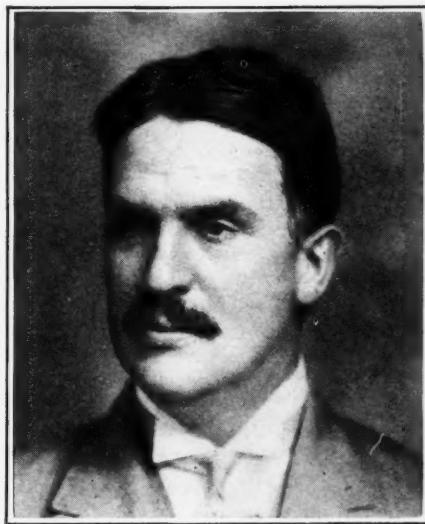
*Beveridge's Dissenting Resolution*  
Mr. Beveridge, of Indiana—by no means satisfied with the Burrows report—studied the case for himself, and when the matter was ready for consideration, on January 9, he was prepared to make a minority report and to present a resolution declaring vacant the seat now held by Lorimer, on the ground that he had not been duly and legally elected. Mr. Beveridge's review of the case was scathing, and its conclusions were irresistible. The contest over electing a Senator had been going on in the Illinois Legislature for three months when suddenly, on the 26th of May, a number of Democrats who had steadily voted against all



Photograph by Pirie MacDonald, N. Y.

HON. WILLIAM CHURCH OSBORN

Appointed legal adviser to Governor Dix



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HON. THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE

New Forest, Fish, and Game Commissioner

(Two New York Democrats of the highest character who, at personal sacrifice, have obeyed Governor Dix's call to serve the State in positions of arduous labor. Both these men were last month working in the interest of Mr. Shepard's election as United States Senator)

Republican candidates, suddenly swung over and elected Lorimer. It is conceded that some of these Democrats were purchased. At least four of them fully and freely admit that they were, and they make it clear enough that they were not alone in what they did. It is scarcely worth while to review the facts. The election of Lorimer stands almost unparalleled in the flagrancy of its corruption and disonor. Everything surrounding Lorimer's election suggests the taint of fraud and crime. It is well understood that the report of Senator Burrows and his colleagues has all along been regarded with extreme disfavor by President Taft and those Republican leaders of the country who realize that a great party cannot afford to be identified with the condoning of transactions so notorious.

*Another Case in Evidence*

But even where, as in most cases, the election of Senators by the legislatures is not tainted by any such thing as the use of money for bribery, we have witnessed a great number of instances where a party boss or a political machine was in such control over a bare majority of the ruling party in a legislature as to force an improper Senatorial candidate upon a legislative caucus. Mr. William F. Sheehan would not have dreamed of being a candidate for the United States Senate from the State of New York if the choice was with the people.

His only chance for the Senate lay in the fact that he had been promised the position by Murphy, the boss of Tammany, who had come to regard himself as the dictator and owner of the Democratic party of the State of New York. Mr. Sheehan had been a local politician in Buffalo with a record that he might well wish to have forgotten; and from 1892 to 1895 he was Lieutenant Governor of the State.

*Sheehan as Murphy's Candidate*

For some fifteen years Sheehan has been wholly out of the public eye and mind. He has been practising law, and promoting electric lighting and other public service corporations; and has undoubtedly formed very powerful associations with certain corporate interests that are supposed to require vigilant public control. He has been well known in the inner councils of these corporations; and among a certain class of lawyers and politicians behind the scenes he has doubtless maintained a place of secret influence and power. But to the larger public, for many years, he has been as if he had been dead since the time of Martin Van Buren. The State possesses its group of prominent and active Democrats who might be regarded as men of such rank and standing as to be properly named for the Senate. Edward M. Shepard, Alton B. Parker, Thomas M. Osborne,—these are names that might well have come before the people

in case of a direct vote for Senator. Some of Mr. Sheehan's legal associates and business intimates had come before the public with letters to the newspapers conveying the information that William F. Sheehan is indeed a man of such-and-such attainments and of such-and-such qualifications. From all over the State there had been a demand for Edward M. Shepard; but from no source whatsoever had there been any demand for Sheehan. As a matter of private arrangement, Mr. Murphy was simply proposing to present to Mr. Sheehan the Senatorship from the great State of New York. We are not raising the question whether or not Mr. Sheehan possesses the eminent qualifications ascribed to him. There is much reason to think that he possesses no qualifications whatever that would fit him to represent New York in the Senate. Yet, as the first fruits of the Democratic victory in New York, the Democratic caucus, in the middle of January, made Mr. Sheehan its candidate for the Senate. Charles F. Murphy, head of Tammany Hall, went personally to Albany to put his promise into execution.

*The New York Deadlock* It so happened that a handful of Democratic legislators, about twenty in number, refused to go into the caucus; and the Republicans gave their nominal support to Senator Depew. The handful of bolting Democrats sufficed to create a deadlock. Sheehan was about ten votes short of enough to elect him. The plan pursued in Illinois, after a protracted deadlock, was to go over to the other party and buy enough votes to turn the scales. But although Mr. Murphy and Tammany have ample funds, which they might use on behalf of Mr. Sheehan, there is not the slightest reason to think that any Republican votes could be bought, nor does it seem possible that any of those Democrats who refused to vote for Sheehan on the first ballot could in any way be induced to surrender to Boss Murphy. As we go to press, therefore, it has seemed likely enough that the deadlock would soon be broken and that some compromise candidate—Alton B. Parker, for example—might be chosen. Sheehan, by the way, is a member of Judge Parker's law firm, and the former Democratic candidate for the Presidency had given him a handsome testimonial. But the simple difference is that Judge Parker is a public man of national standing, and that Sheehan is not a public man in any sense whatsoever. There is no more deadly form of insult to the public than for a brazen and detested boss like Murphy to attempt to thrust

into a high place like the United States Senate a man who is merely his own private choice, and whose position is so obscure that, if left to themselves, the people would never have thought of him, even if they had been given a hundred guesses.

*The Popular Ordeal Is Requisite*

Thus the Lorimer case in Illinois illustrates in one way the harm that comes from the present method of electing Senators, while the Sheehan incident in New York illustrates it in a different way. When a candidate has to come before the people, a boss like Murphy is obliged to think several times before he acts. Thus Murphy went to the State Democratic convention, last September, and was regarded as its boss. But he would not have dared to propose William F. Sheehan as a candidate for Governor. When it was found that Mayor Gaynor's health made it impossible for him to run, the State chairman, Mr. Dix, was agreed upon as a man who could go before the State with a record which was very clean and creditable though rather slight. If that same convention at Rochester had been obliged to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate to be voted upon at the polls, it would almost certainly have named Mr. Shepard, Judge Parker, or Mr. Thomas M. Osborne.

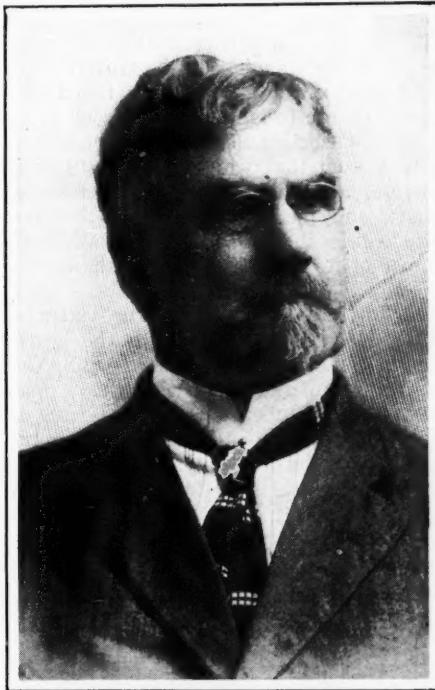
*Smith vs. Martine in New Jersey*

The State of New Jersey has been affording another striking illustration of this same subject. In that State there is a primary-election law that allows the voters to express their preferences for United States Senator. It has, of



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.  
From the *Tribune* (New York)

course, no binding force either in law or in morals upon members of the Legislature, except as such members, in their own campaigns for election to the law-making body, pledge themselves to their constituents that they will, or will not, act in accordance with the results of the popular primary. There were four or five Republican candidates for the Senate, including the retiring incumbent, Senator Kean. Two of the very prominent Republican candidates submitted their names to the popular primary, while Kean himself, and one or two others, preferred not to expose themselves to that risk. In the Democratic primaries, the names of three Democrats were on the voting list as candidates for the United States Senate, and the result was overwhelming in favor of James E. Martine. The most potent Democrat of



JAMES E. MARTINE  
(Choice of the Democratic primaries in New Jersey for  
United States Senator)

the "boss" type in New Jersey is Mr. James Smith, Jr., a wealthy business man of Newark who has long controlled the Democratic machine of Essex, the most populous of New Jersey's counties. Mr. Smith was supposed to have had a good deal to do with bringing about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for Governor, in so far as that nomination could



Copyright by the American Press Association, N. Y.  
GOVERNOR WILSON, OF NEW JERSEY (ON THE RIGHT),  
AND THE RETIRING GOVERNOR, MR. FORT,  
ON INAUGURATION DAY

be attributed to "practical politics." It was, of course, a case of the practical politician being shrewd enough to interpret public sentiment, and to aid in the nomination of a man who could certainly carry the State for himself and who might also draw a Democratic legislature in his train. Mr. James Smith, Jr., has served one term in the United States Senate (1893-99). It was distinctly stated to Dr. Wilson, and to the people of New Jersey, that Smith would not now be a candidate for the Senate. His name was not presented to the primaries, and if it had been so submitted for popular endorsement it would have been sweepingly defeated. The prevailing opinion during the campaign was that the result would give New Jersey a Democratic Governor and a Republican legislature. The Democratic sweep, however, proved to be complete. Not till then did it appear that the plan of Mr. James Smith and his machine had been to use Wilson's popularity to secure a Democratic legislature, after which it might be easy enough to use Smith's



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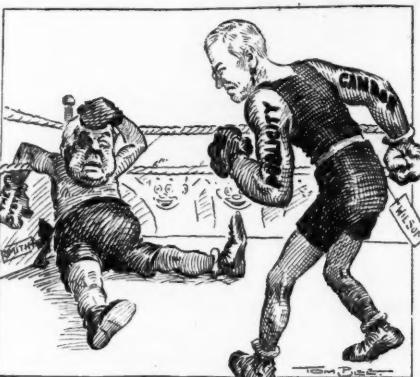
## INAUGURATION OF WOODROW WILSON AS GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

(Governor Wilson in the center)

political control to make him the Democratic caucus candidate for the Senate.

*Wilson's Fight Against Boss Rule* The Democratic legislators-elect from Smith's own county were brought forward, in a solemn and suppliant request to the boss who controlled them, to ask that he should do the State the great honor of allowing himself to be elected to the Senate. Then began a bitter, determined fight on both sides, Governor-elect Wilson taking the lead and addressing great Democratic audiences against Smith and in favor of Martine. The Martine men, when the Legislature organized, surprised the Smith men by taking the ground that no legislative caucus was necessary to find a Democratic candidate, inasmuch as the people of the State themselves had chosen a candidate at the primaries. This was a perfectly tenable position, and it put Smith where he could not be elected without very large aid from the Republican members who were controlled by Smith's allies in the Republican machine. On his inauguration day, January 17, Governor Wilson declared to the newspaper men that he considered Martine's election as practically certain. Smith's election, if it had been accomplished, would have had the same effect upon Democratic opinion throughout the country as would the election of Sheehan in New York. It would have handicapped the party in its plans and aspirations for 1912. This New Jersey situation has again shown clearly that while a voluntary primary election for the choice of a Senatorial candidate may, indeed, mitigate the evils of the present mode of electing Senators, it offers no satisfactory substitute for the full and complete election of Senators by the people.

*The Original Method Nullified* There are those who fall back upon the Constitutional provision and declare that the plan devised by the founders of the Government is still good enough. But they forget the fact—or choose to ignore it—that our present way of electing Senators is grotesquely different from that which the Constitution prescribes and intends. The Constitution intends, and means to prescribe, that the entire Legislature, including every individual member of it, shall take part in the actual choice of a United States Senator. As a matter of fact, under the existing system, a Senator is usually not chosen by the Legislature in any true sense. He is chosen by the party caucus of the party which has a majority of the members of the two houses of the Legislature on joint ballot. It is regarded, under the present system, as virtually necessary for legislators elected in the usual



IN NEW JERSEY—"LICKED TO A FRAZZLE!"

And say—note the arm development  
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

way on a party ticket to enter the party caucus and to abide by the result. Thus, if the Legislature has 150 members, of whom 76 are Democrats and 74 are Republicans, it is the almost invariable opinion of strict party men that the majority choice of the Democratic caucus ought to be promptly accepted by the entire Legislature. Under this system, every one of the 74 Republican votes must be thrown away. They will be expended upon a complimentary vote for some Republican who cannot by any chance be elected. If the Democratic caucus should be closely divided between two candidates—the one representing, as is so frequently the case, the private choice of the machine or the boss, and the other representing a decent public opinion and some regard for the traditions of statesmanship—it is nevertheless the doctrine of the party man that if the machine candidate can be forced through the caucus by a majority of a single vote, every man who has gone into the caucus must accept the result and the man must be elected in the face of an outraged public opinion. Thus 39 men would control a legislature of 150 men.

*Exemplified at Albany* This was the game that Murphy believed he could play at Albany.

Ninety Democrats went into the caucus and became pledged to Sheehan. But twenty-two Democrats, most of them young and of independent mind, refused to go into caucus and pledged themselves to oppose Sheehan. They were led by a young State Senator from Dutchess County, Frank-



HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
(Leader of Anti-Tammany Democrats in Senate)

lin Roosevelt by name, a kinsman of Theodore Roosevelt and evidently a man of the same kind of pluck and public spirit in politics. Eighty Republican votes on the first ballot, in accordance with the action of the Republican caucus, were cast for Senator Depew. A majority of the independent Democratic group voted for Mr. Edward M. Shepard. Although no Republicans would have dared to change their votes to Sheehan, it was widely declared in the newspapers that the Murphy-Sheehan plan would be to induce enough Republican members to be absent from Albany on a given day to allow Mr. Sheehan's ninety votes to become a majority of the total number of members present and voting. This could have been accomplished by the concerted absence of about twenty Republicans. So intimate, in many ways, are the political machines of the two great parties that there is always real danger that tricks of this kind may be played. Now, who is there with the effrontery to say openly that this party caucus method of foisting Senators upon the country is the exact plan intended by the framers of the Constitution?



THE OPEN SEASON FOR SENATORS  
Tammany on the hunt  
From the *World* (New York)

*A Legislator's Oath of Office* The founders of the Government did not take into account the changes that would come about in the real working arrangements of government, through the crystallization of a party system. They supposed that the legisla-

tures would be made up of men of superior character, truly representing their constituents, and that such groups of men would be well fitted to name a Senator or to choose a President. They did not contemplate the growth of honest and responsible parties; and much less could any of them have dreamed of the evolution of party dictatorship by a private boss like Murphy. It would, of course, be quixotic under present conditions to expect the 80 Republicans, having given Mr. Depew the compliment of a few ballots, to take a real part in the choice of a Senator. They could have done this by throwing their solid vote for the Democrat who could best represent the great State of New York at Washington,—in consideration of the anti-Sheehan Democrats agreeing to act together, on behalf of such a candidate as Edward M. Shepard. Yet such a course of action would show common sense, a fine spirit of duty, and a perception of the meaning of a legislator's oath of office. Instead of injuring the Republican party, it would greatly strengthen it by proving to the country that Republicans are not dog-in-the-manger partisans, and that when they cannot possibly choose a Republican Senator they are willing to help choose the best Democrat who can be found. It is, of course, quite easy to confute these suggestions from the standpoint of any strict party man,—that is to say, a man who believes that government and politics must always be run like a game of football between two precisely balanced organizations. But while politics is, indeed, a great party game, it is also some-

thing more. We have real public business to do at Washington that requires training, talent, and character. The greater part of the business of the United States Senate is done in committee rooms by men who are not working as partisans but as servants of the country. As regards the real business that is carried on, it is much more important to secure the election of a good man than of a Republican or a Democrat.

*Indiana as a Further Instance*

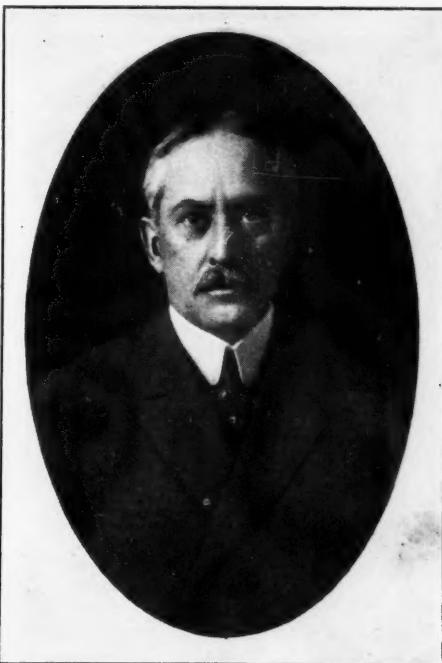
The recent Indiana election affords an entirely different sort of illustration of the bad working of the present method of electing Senators. There was overwhelming evidence that the people of the State desired to give another term to Senator Beveridge. If the popular feeling could have expressed itself, it would have been useless for anybody last fall to have run against this keen and able Senator, who is believed by the people of his State to have done his public work as a public man ought to do it. Yet,—as respects things in general,—it was plain that Indiana was last fall strongly inclined to go Democratic. And this Democratic tendency affected the choice of a legislature, for some specific local reasons. If a legislature had nothing to do but to select a Senator, Indiana would have chosen a Beveridge legislature with much gusto. But the question of a repeal of the county-option law was pending, and on that ground, as well as others, powerful interests brought every effort to bear to secure a Democratic legislature. Even under these circumstances Mr. Beveridge might conceivably have been re-elected, had it not happened that a Democratic convention had previously named the Hon. John W. Kern as candidate for Senator, so that the Democratic legislative candidates were pledged in advance to Kern. Here again, by a different *modus operandi*, the manner of electing Senators prescribed by the Constitution was entirely set aside. For in Indiana two party conventions had in advance named the candidates for Senator, and the legislative candidates were accordingly pledged all along the line. There was no need of legislative caucuses, inasmuch as the election of a Democratic legislature meant Kern, just as the election of a Republican legislature would have meant Beveridge. This arrangement was not what the people of Indiana desired. What they wished was to vote directly for Senator, as well as to vote directly for their candidates for the legislature. They did not wish to make the one thing depend upon the other.



THE DEEPER THEY DIG, THE SOONER SOMETHING WILL DROP  
From the *News* (Chicago)

*Lodge's Ordeal  
in Massachusetts* In the State of Massachusetts, Senator Lodge has been chosen to another term, although a group of anti-Lodge Republicans refused to go into the legislative caucus. For some weeks it had been seriously questioned by the newspapers and politicians of Massachusetts whether or not Mr. Lodge could win. His case in no way resembled that of Sheehan in New York. Senator Lodge is a distinguished public man, who would in any case have been a foremost figure in a popular vote for Senator. It is fairly probable that a popular vote this year would have defeated Lodge and elected a Democrat, for quite the same reasons that can be given for the defeat of Governor Draper and the election as governor of Mr. Eugene Foss on the Democratic ticket. The present method of electing Senators has not, in Massachusetts, worked in a scandalous fashion, as in so many other States. Yet even in Massachusetts it would be better, on many accounts, if Senators were subjected to the test of a direct popular vote.

*Rhode Island and Aldrich's Successor* It would be interesting to know how a direct vote for Senator would affect a typical small State like Rhode Island. Although Mr. Aldrich is retiring, the "organization" seems still to be in control. The two leading Republican candidates for the seat about to be vacated were Mr. Henry F. Lippitt and Judge Le Baron B. Colt. Mr. Lippitt was the man selected by the party authorities. Judge Colt's supporters refused to go into the legislative caucus. The Democratic candidate was Judge Brown, of the United States District Court, Judge Colt being on the United States Circuit bench. Mr. Lippitt is a wealthy cotton manufacturer, regarded as standing for the highest kind of tariff protection on the textile schedules that the progressives of the country desire to revise. Judge Colt was strongly supported by an intelligent public sentiment throughout Rhode Island. If the people of the State had been empowered to choose their own Senator, the choice would have been between Judge Colt, Republican, and Judge Brown, Democrat,—at least this seems to have been probable. But the attempt of Judge Colt's supporters to deadlock the legislature failed, and on January 18, Mr. Lippitt was elected by a rather close margin. There will naturally be unusual interest in following the Senatorial career of the able business man who succeeds Mr. Aldrich. That he can ever become as powerful as his predecessor is not to be imagined.



HON. HENRY F. LIPPITT, OF RHODE ISLAND  
(The man who succeeds Aldrich)

*Connecticut's Admirable Choice* Connecticut, like Massachusetts, is a State that last November chose a Democratic Governor and a Republican legislature. Governor Simeon E. Baldwin was quietly inaugurated January 3, and in his inaugural address took strong and advanced positions on several subjects of great public interest. But the really exciting affair in Connecticut politics last month was the choice of a United States Senator. The incumbent, Senator Bulkeley, was in the same situation as Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts. There was opposition to him from the progressive wing of the party, but Bulkeley believed that he could hold his seat. He fought valiantly, but, unlike Lodge, he failed. The Legislative caucus, on January 10, gave 64 votes to Senator Bulkeley and 113 to ex-Governor George P. McLean. It is within bounds to say that Mr. McLean is the chosen leader of the best and most progressive Republicans of Connecticut. Upon his election as Senator, on January 17, the New York Tribune editorially made the following remarks about him:

He is confidently expected by the best elements in the Republican party to uphold the highest standards of leadership which have existed in that State, and to increase Connecticut's prestige at



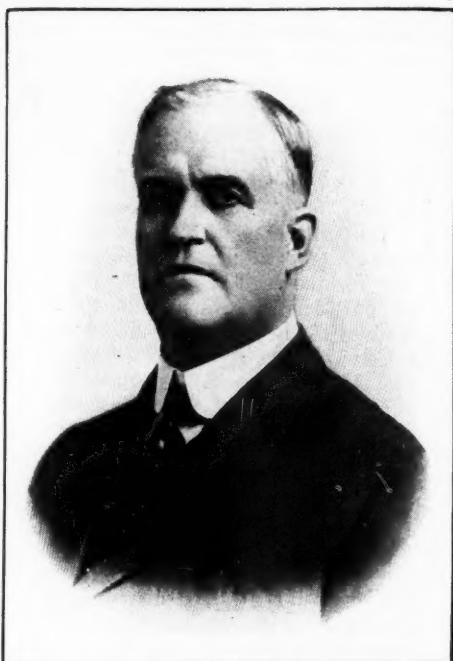
HON. GEORGE P. MCLEAN  
(Connecticut's Senator-elect)

Washington. Mr. McLean is in the prime of his powers. He is a singularly felicitous public speaker, knows his constituency thoroughly and is in sympathy with all efforts to purify politics, improve administration and raise the tone of public life. He will represent the people of Connecticut with intelligence and distinction. The State is to be congratulated on its choice.

The whole country is the gainer by having as a New England Senator a man of the qualities of George P. McLean. His choice helps to fill the great gap that was left by the death of Senator Orville H. Platt, of that State, some five or six years ago.

*The Man Who Succeeds Eugene Hale* Almost as interesting to the country as the Aldrich successorship of Maine. Charles F. Johnson, who was elected by the legislature at Augusta on January 17, is a leading lawyer of his State, and

he won a well-fought contest against several strong rivals in the Democratic caucus on January 4. He had the active support of the new Democratic Governor, Mr. Plaisted. His chief opponent was Obadiah Gardner, for a long time master of the State Grange. The friends of Gardner claim that if the choice had been made by the people their candidate would probably have been preferred. Johnson's candidacy was embarrassed by the fact that the so-called "Hale wing" of the Republican party, through its newspaper organs, expressed a marked preference for him, so that his opponents claimed that he stood for the same business interests that had always been behind Hale. But there seems no particular justification for such statements. Mr. Johnson will at once take his position as a strong member of the Democratic half of the Senate. The State of Maine has to her credit an extraordinary list of men who have represented her in both houses at Washington, and she continues to produce statesmen. Maine, like Rhode Island, Delaware, and one or two other of the smaller States, has seemed to find it easier than such great States as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, to lend her men of real strength to the service of the nation.



HON. CHARLES F. JOHNSON, OF MAINE  
("The man who succeeds Hale")

Pomerene  
of  
Ohio

In the Democratic joint caucus of the Ohio legislature on January 5, the Hon. Atlee Pomerene was nominated for the United States Senate to succeed Senator Charles Dick, Republican, and on January 10 he was duly elected Senator, receiving every Democratic vote. Mr. Pomerene had already been elected Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Governor Harmon in November. Pomerene spent his boyhood on an Ohio farm, and was graduated from Princeton five years after Governor Woodrow Wilson finished his course at the same college. He afterward studied law at Cincinnati and removed to the city of Canton, McKinley's home, where he has lived for the past twenty-five years. He is a warm

friend of Governor Harmon, with whom he stands as against machine methods in the Democracy of Ohio. Harmon was much denounced by certain leading politicians for having supposedly favored Pomerene's election to the Senate, and the machine at once threatened to form Woodrow Wilson clubs for 1912. All of which might well amuse Governor Wilson, since his own fight against the same kind of

machine politicians is of necessity more intense than that of Harmon. Mr. Pomerene is well spoken of, and has come to the front in spite of the bosses and on his own personal merits. He has the ardent support of all the friends of "Tom" Johnson of Cleveland.

*In the State of West Virginia, there developed last month another of those shocking and disgraceful situations due to the total moral collapse of our present method of electing Senators. The Democratic victory in November had the result of bringing to an end the Senatorial career of Nathan B. Scott, whose term*



SENATOR-ELECT POMERENE, AS  
PORTRAYED BY CARTOONIST  
WESTERMAN OF THE OHIO  
STATE JOURNAL

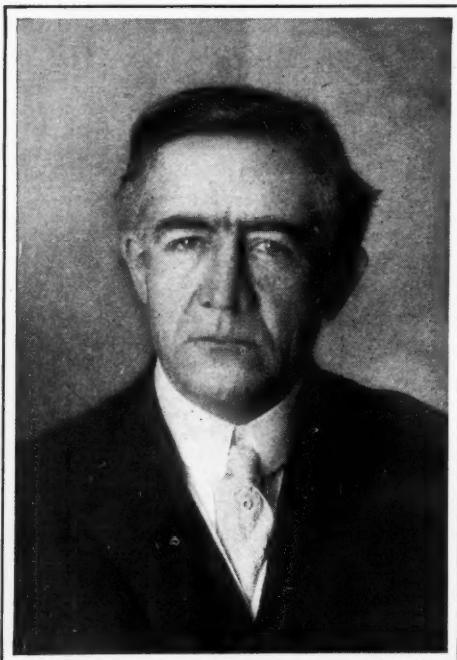


HON. ATLEE POMERENE, OF OHIO, WHO WILL SUCCEED  
DICK IN THE SENATE

expires on the 4th of March. The death at Washington of Mr. Scott's colleague, Stephen B. Elkins, on January 4, created a second vacancy for the Democrats to fill. The Republican Governor, Glasscock, made haste to appoint Davis Elkins, a son of the late Senator, to fill his father's seat. This appointment could be valid for only a few days, or until the legislature could organize and elect Mr. Elkins' successor. Clarence W. Watson and W. E. Chilton were nominated in the Democratic caucus of the legislature on January 18, and they in due time will replace at Washington the well-known veterans, Elkins and Scott. But, meanwhile, some fifteen Republican members of the State Senate had fled to Cincinnati, Ohio, in order to get beyond the jurisdiction of the State and delay the organization and work of the legislature. The country has no interest in the precise details of the controversy, but has a right to entertain a very poor opinion of West Virginia politics, which has so long been dominated by a little group of capitalists and exploiters of the coal, oil, and other resources of the State.

*A Deadlock  
in  
Tennessee*

In Tennessee, there has been another discreditable legislative deadlock, also due to the obvious unfitness of legislatures to elect United States Senators. The Democrats of that State have



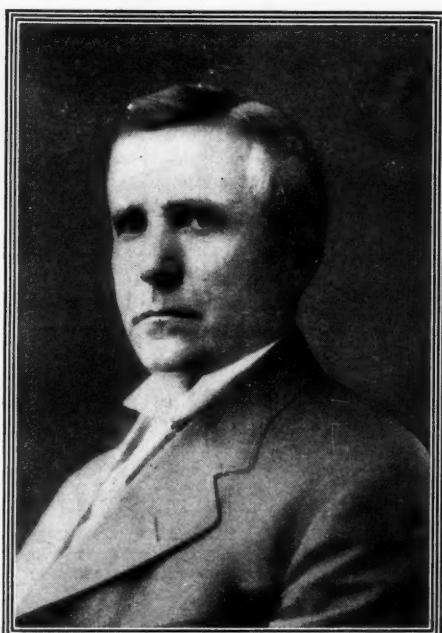
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SENATOR-ELECT HITCHCOCK, OF NEBRASKA

been divided into bitter factions. It seems that a minority of Democrats in the lower branch of the Legislature refused to appear and take the oath of office, and the upper house, at least for a time, declined to recognize the lower house as organized. The disturbed situation seems to have been due to the methods of the retiring Governor, M. R. Patterson. The insurgents came into their places after some days of absence, and business proceeded. But it was difficult to reach a Senatorial choice. Senator Frazier's chances at length seemed hopeless, and those of the Hon. Benton McMillin were improving. Gen. Luke Wright was a possible compromise candidate.

*Experiences Elsewhere*

In Pennsylvania, Senator Oliver Sutherland, of Utah, who is one of the orthodox, or so-called "standpat" leaders of the upper house. In several of the Western States, selections previously made in popular primaries have been duly honored by legislatures. In Missouri, for example, where James A. Reed defeated ex-Governor David R. Francis at the primaries, the Legislature acted and Mr. Reed will succeed the retiring Republican member, Senator Warner. Ne-

braska, also, sends a Democrat to succeed the retiring Republican, Senator Burkett. The new Senator is Gilbert M. Hitchcock, who is publisher and editor of the Omaha *World-Herald*, and is a well-known and able Congressman from the Omaha district. His election to the Senate follows easily and without friction the popular victory won by him at the Democratic primaries in the autumn. This Nebraska method at least relieves the Legislature, saves its dignity, and permits it to attend to its proper work on behalf of the State. We have already commented upon the success of Congressman Townsend in a primary election over the incumbent, Senator Burrows. It is fairly probable that without the primary election there would have been a hard, protracted struggle in the Legis-



HON. JAMES A. REED, THE NEW MISSOURI SENATOR

lature, for Burrows and his friends command ample resources of the kind that are everywhere so efficacious in handling the legislative choice of a Senator on the old lines. The Michigan Legislature has confirmed the verdict of the primaries without delay or hesitation.

*Clapp and Poindexter*

In Minnesota, Senator Moses E. Clapp was reelected on January 17 by a remarkable concurrence of opinion and action. Mr. Clapp has been so pronounced an insurgent, and so con-

vinced an opponent of certain attitudes and alliances that have weakened President Taft in the regard of the Middle West, that there was some talk of bringing forward either James A. Tawney, Frank B. Kellogg, Congressman Stevens, or Governor Eberhart. But on January 17 every Republican member of both houses of the Legislature voted for Moses E. Clapp, and two-thirds of the Democratic members also cast their votes for this quiet, strong, and growing statesman. In the State of Washington, as our readers will remember, the fight was in the primaries last fall, when Miles Poindexter, the well-known insurgent Congressman, carried every county in the State on a progressive platform. On January 17 the Legislature sustained the people's choice, and Poindexter received a vote of 86 to 10 in the House, and of 40 to 1 in the Senate. The State of Washington is very glad not to have a legislative contest on its hands.

*Contrasting Instances* In Iowa, the situation was uncertain at the time of our going to press. It will be remembered that the Hon. Lafayette Young had been appointed temporarily to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Dolliver. In Colorado, a choice will have to be made to succeed Senator Hughes, who died last



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SENATOR MILES POINDEXTER, OF WASHINGTON



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SENATOR CLAPP, OF MINNESOTA

month. In Montana last month the Legislature was deadlocked over the choice of a Democratic successor to the retiring Republican, Senator Carter. The people of Montana have had some very scandalous episodes in the history of their representation in the United States Senate. They would have been happier this winter if they had thrashed the choice of a Senator out at a primary election last fall. Their deadlock at this time brings painfully to mind other Democratic Senatorial elections in Montana, and gives us a further instance of the need of changing the Constitution and electing Senators by direct vote of the people. California, on the other hand, furnishes a pleasant example of the value of even an informal reference of such a matter to the people. In the primary elections, Judge John D. Works, of the State Supreme Court, who was the candidate of the insurgent wing of the Republicans, had a decided plurality of votes cast, although the other Republican candidate, Mr. A. G.

Spalding, carried a larger number of districts. Mr. Works was clearly entitled to be pronounced victor, and the Legislature so decided. On January 10 he received 92 votes as against 21 for Spalding, thus being duly elected Senator on the first ballot. But for the primary there would probably have been a long and embarrassing contest, disturbing the Legislature for many weeks.

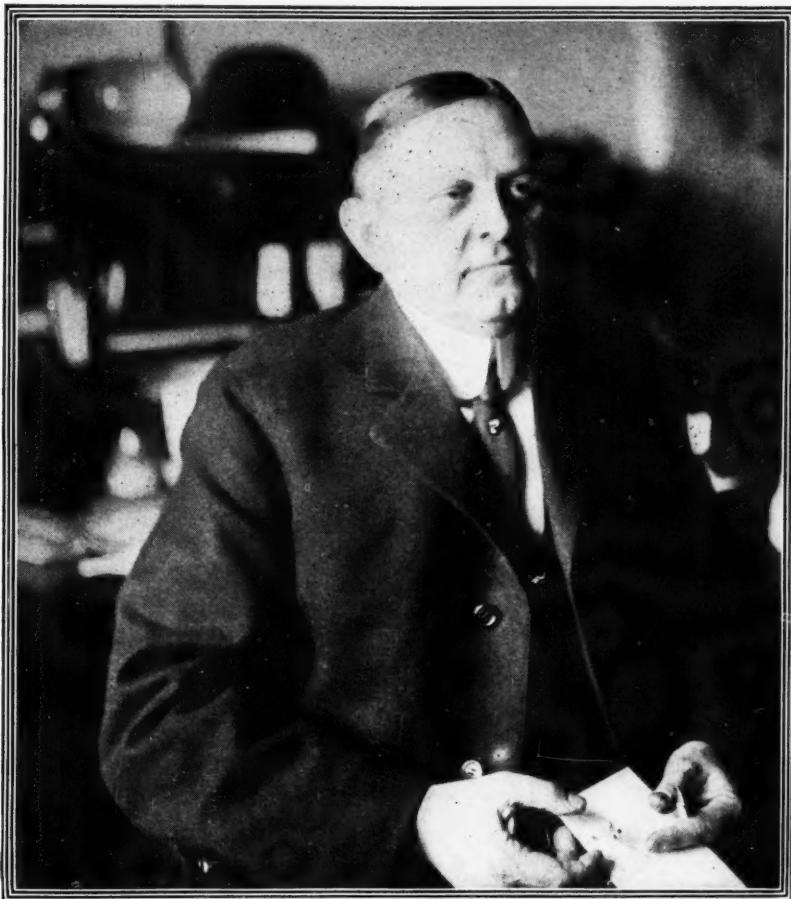
*Pending Work in Congress* It is difficult in a short session of Congress to do much more than to pass the great appropriation bills. The Republicans are trying, in the concluding weeks of this session, to pass a law authorizing a tariff commission. Besides the bill of Senator Beveridge that has long been pending, several new ones have been submitted to committees. Representative Nicholas Longworth has introduced a tariff-commission bill in the House, and Mr. Dalzell himself, heretofore hostile on principle, has made a modified proposal. The Democrats are not helping the Republicans, and it is somewhat doubtful whether we shall see a tariff commission established for several years to come. President Taft's attempt to run the departments more economically is not likely to cut down the sum total of public expenditure. For example, the Sulloway pension bill, with Speaker Cannon's enthusiastic endorsement, has passed the House, and it adds \$45,000,000 to the pension roll, bringing the total annual appropriation on that score to more than \$200,000,000. The Senate may cut the amount down, but it will not reject the new legislation. President Taft's efforts to secure means with which to fortify the Panama Canal are meeting with much opposition. The determined proposal to grant some form of steamship subvention which would develop our trade with South America is also one of the President's pet measures that does not find a smooth course.

*Possibly an Extra Session* It is hoped that the postal savings bank experiment may at once be followed by that of a parcels post for the rural free delivery routes. But from certain groups of merchants this plan is meeting with such militant opposition that it is not likely to make its way through the present Congress. Modifications of the House rules, made last year, have a tendency to retard business, and it is considered not unlikely that the 4th of March may find some of the appropriation bills still pending. This would necessitate the calling of the new Congress in special session, and we should at once

see the Hon. Champ Clark in the Speaker's chair and a new Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, wrestling with the task of committee assignments, and trying to frame a new general tariff bill.

*Reapportionment of the House* A bill for the reapportionment of the House on the basis of the new census has been introduced in Congress by Representative Crumpacker, chairman of the Committee on Census. This bill, which is intended to serve as an outline of a measure to be developed in committee and in the course of the House debates, provides for 433 members, excluding Arizona and New Mexico, which together will be entitled to three members on the basis of present population. The present House has 391 members, and any proposed change in the ratio which would lead to a decrease in the representation of any State or States, would be so hotly contested that it is agreed on all hands that no proposition of the sort would have the slightest chance of success. Mr. Crumpacker's bill provides for as small a number of members as is possible without decreasing the population of any State. It happens that as one result of the census of 1910 several of the Mississippi Valley States, which have influential delegations in Congress, were threatened with a loss in representation because of the relatively slight gain shown in their population. This fact makes it all the more improbable that any smaller number than that decided on by Mr. Crumpacker's committee will be accepted by the present Congress.

*State Gains in Representation* The ratio of population to representatives is fixed by the committee at 211,877—an increase of 17,695 over the ratio now in force. Under the new apportionment one member each will be gained by the States of Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia, while the States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Texas, and Washington will gain two members each, California and Oklahoma three members each, Pennsylvania four, and New York six. Under the method embodied in the proposed bill the total membership of the House is reached by dividing the population of each State by the ratio (211,877) and assigning to each State one representative for each full ratio of population, and one in addition for



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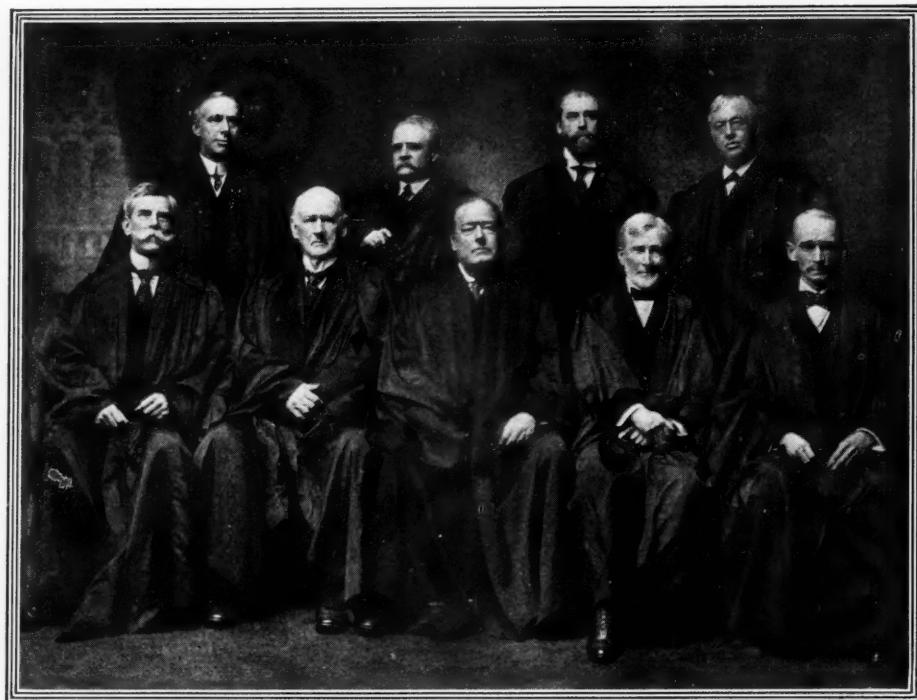
## HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, OF ALABAMA

(Who has served in Congress for sixteen years and will be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the next Congress, acting under Champ Clark as Speaker of the House. This position has added importance because a Democratic caucus, on January 19, decided to use the Ways and Means Committee as a Committee on Committees to supersede the Speaker in the assignment of members to their committee work)

each major fraction thereof. This method has the endorsement of Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, who was one of the chief statisticians of the twelfth census. We cannot enter into the details of this and other plans, but for a clear and useful statement of the reapportionment problem we commend our readers to the article appearing in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS from the pen of Prof. Frederic Austin Ogg (see page 208). The increasing size of the House of Representatives, which seems inevitable, will necessitate a rearrangement of the hall of the House. It is generally admitted that the desks now in use are less needed than before the establishment of the

House office building. Under the order of the House, made some time ago, it is understood that the desks will be removed before the assembling of the Sixty-second Congress. Under the new conditions a House of greatly enlarged membership should be able to transact business more intelligently and satisfactorily than a House of the present membership under existing conditions.

*Great Cases  
in the  
Supreme Court* January was a memorable month in the history of the United States Supreme Court. Both the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company cases came up for reargument before the full bench, Justices Lamar and Van Devanter



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## THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AS NOW CONSTITUTED

(From left to right, standing: Justices Van Devanter, Lurton, Hughes and Lamar. Seated: Justices Holmes, Harlan, Chief Justice White, Justices McKenna and Day)

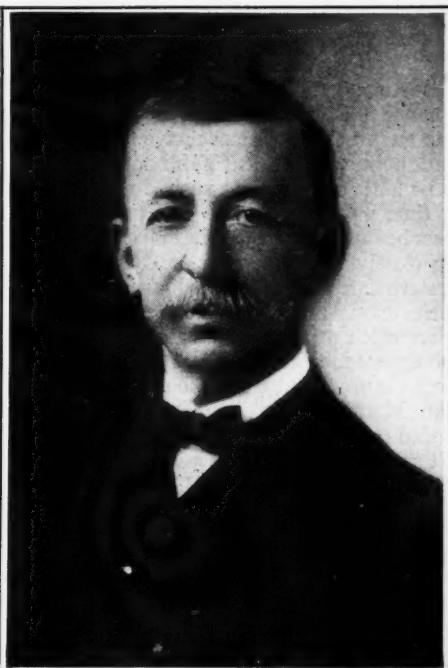
having taken their seats on January 3. Thus all nine places on the bench were filled for the first time in many months. For the first time also Chief Justice White presided at a hearing of cases. It may be in order to remind our readers that the Standard Oil case, which has been spoken of by Attorney-General Wickersham as the most important suit that ever came before the Supreme Court, was instituted five years ago, in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Missouri. The federal Government was the complainant and alleged that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, as a holding company, had acquired since 1899, and held by direct stock ownership, sixty-five companies. These companies, it was charged, owned the stock of forty-nine others. The Government asked that this organization be dissolved. By unanimous decision, four judges of the Circuit Court made a decree dissolving the organization both because it was in restriction of interstate commerce, and because it was an attempt to monopolize. Before the decree became effective, an appeal took the case to the Supreme Court. The tobacco case was instituted in 1907 in the Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York. Allied companies in the tobacco business, with combined assets of more than \$400,000,000, made up the organization which the Government sought to have the court dissolve. Three of the four judges united in a decree holding that many of the corporations had entered into a combination in restraint of trade in violation of the first section of the Sherman anti-trust law. The application of the Sherman law to the organizations involves an investigation of the facts as well as an interpretation of the law. The arguments before the Supreme Court last month attempted answers to these three questions: What is commerce? What is restraint of trade or commerce? and What is it to monopolize? In the tobacco case the Government was represented by Attorney-General Wickersham and Mr. McReynolds, and the corporations by Mr. Hornblower and Mr. Delancey Nicoll. The Standard Oil Company was well defended by John G. Milburn of Buffalo, while Mr. Frank B. Kellogg ably assisted the Attorney-General.

*Baltimore  
and  
Johns Hopkins*

The people of Baltimore signalized the beginning of the new year by completing a fund for the Johns Hopkins University to comply with the terms of a conditional gift made by the General Education Board, which some time ago offered the University \$250,000 on the condition that \$750,000 additional be raised by the first of January, 1911. Not only did the University's Baltimore friends meet the General Education Board's condition, but added gifts brought the total to more than \$900,000, so that the sum now available to the University is about \$1,150,000. The contributors to the fund numbered nearly 1200 in the city of Baltimore alone. It should be remembered that since the University was founded, in the early seventies, the people of Baltimore have given to the institution nearly three and a half million dollars, thus duplicating the original generous gift of the founder. Perhaps there is not another city on the continent in which such really popular support of an institution of higher education has been exhibited. It is gratifying to the friends of Johns Hopkins that so effective an appeal has been made to local pride, but the work of the institution is national in its scope and should have more than local support. The trustees estimate the present needs of the institution at \$2,000,000, and they are asking men of wealth all over the country to come to the assistance of this pioneer among American universities.

*Plans of  
University  
Expansion*

The purpose of this special fund is partly to transfer the University to its new site at "Homewood," in the outskirts of Baltimore, and partly to extend its activity to four new departments of study: (1) A Training School for Teachers, which will enable the University to pay a part of its service to Baltimore and the State of Maryland; (2) a School of Applied Science, where advanced students will be taught methods of scientific investigation applied to industrial pursuits; (3) a School of Jurisprudence, not merely occasional or professional in character, but a place for the scientific study of laws and their effect upon communities; (4) a Department of Preventive Medicine in connection with the Johns Hopkins Hospital, which will apply scientific methods to the study of problems concerning the public health, and to the training of much-needed workers in this important field. It is proposed to complete this fund by February 22, and we feel sure that this new appeal of the University for assistance in the



DR. EDGAR F. SMITH  
(New provost of the University of Pennsylvania)

extension of its work will meet with a cordial response from all directions. Several important changes have taken place of late in the administrative personnel of American colleges and universities. Dr. Edgar F. Smith becomes provost of the University of Pennsylvania, succeeding Dr. Charles C. Harrison in that office. The new president of the University of Minnesota is Prof. George E. Vincent, whose portrait appears as the frontispiece of this number of the REVIEW.

*Consuls  
Under the  
Merit System*

It is interesting to note that a bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, for the improvement of the diplomatic and consular services through the enactment into law of the essential principles of existing executive orders, bringing those services under the merit system, and providing that the qualifications of candidates for appointment to those services be ascertained by impartial examination. This measure simply perfects and makes permanent the improvements already brought about in the foreign service since the passage of the consular reorganization act in 1906. Both President Taft and Secretary Knox are heartily in favor of its passage.

*Progress of Reciprocity with Canada* The results of the negotiations which were carried on last month at Washington between the State Department and the Canadian Ministers of Finance and Customs for a Canadian-American reciprocity agreement have not yet been made public. President Taft hopes, however, to be able to formulate such an agreement in time to submit it to the present Congress before adjournment in March. Following closely upon the visit to Ottawa of the western farmers to demand a reduction of duties upon American agricultural machinery, upon which we commented last month, came the appearance at Ottawa of a delegation of more than a hundred members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which presented a vigorous protest against reciprocity. After good-humoredly asking whether it would be wiser for him to listen to the voice of the farmer or to that of the manufacturer, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave it as his opinion that the Dominion Government "may find it possible to have some measure of reciprocal trade with our southern neighbor to benefit the farmers who ask for it without injuring the manufacturers who oppose it."

*International Railroad Control* It is expected that with the reciprocity treaty there will also be submitted to Congress the text of some sort of traffic agreement with Canada to regulate railroad business over the border. We have given the news of the conferences held during the past few months between the Hon. Martin A. Knapp, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Hon. J. P. Mabee, Chairman of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of Canada, on this subject. Late in December these officials reached the basis of an agreement. The report of Chairman Knapp, concurred in by Chairman Mabee, and presented to the Secretary of State on the last day of December, contains recommendations of such importance to those of our citizens who are interested in trade and travel across the border that we herewith summarize its most important points.

(1) It is quite apparent that the existing laws of the United States and of Canada are inadequate for the effective control of international carriers as respects through rates and the establishment of through routes and other matters which are proper subjects of joint regulation, and that such regulation would be mutually advantageous to the interests of both countries. It is equally plain that the regulation to which international carriers should be subjected is substantially similar to that provided for interstate carriers of the United States.

(2) The proposed treaty provides for a tribunal to

enforce and administer its provisions to be known as the International Commerce Commission and which shall consist of four members, namely, the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the chief commissioner of the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada for the time being, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States and a member of the railway commissioners of Canada to be appointed by the Governor General of Canada in council. The powers conferred upon and authority given to this commission in respect of international carriers would correspond to the extent indicated to those exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission in respect of interstate carriers within the United States. . . . (3) The provisions of such a treaty should apply to telegraph, telephone and express companies, and such companies should be subject as respects their international business to the authority of the International Commerce Commission.

*Other Canadian Topics*

The Dominion exercises a rigid and progressive supervision over all the "common carriers" operating within its territory. In this category, Canadians include express companies. Last month the Federal Railway Commission of Canada rendered a sweeping judgment affecting all the express companies doing business in Canadian territory, declaring them all to be overcapitalized. These companies, says the decision further, are merely agencies of the railways, and the earnings of the railways from express traffic, being excessive, should be reduced. The companies are ordered to submit a new tariff within the next three months. The extension of the power of the government at Ottawa over the larger commercial enterprises of the Dominion which have a quasi-public character has been one of the policies strongly advocated by Earl Grey, the present Governor General, who retires this year. He will be succeeded, it is now definitely announced, by the Duke of Connaught, brother of the late King Edward VII. Striking evidence of the growth of the Canadian national spirit as distinct from that of a British colony, although combined with loyalty to the empire, is furnished by the remarkably rapid growth of the so-called Nationalist movement in the province of Quebec. Two of the ablest members of the Dominion Parliament, Mr. Henri Bourassa and Mr. F. D. Monk, are leaders of this movement, the aims and scope of which are set forth in a Leading Article on page 230.

*Details of the Fisheries Agreement*

Early last month the commissioners of the United States, Canada and Newfoundland (the last represented by Sir Edward Morris, the Premier) held a long conference at Washington for

the purpose of reaching an agreement regarding certain changes in regulations governing the fisheries in Canadian and Newfoundland waters. Instead of calling upon the commission of experts, appointed under The Hague award, "to determine the reasonableness of certain existing fisheries regulations to which the United States has objected," such "reasonableness" will be settled by direct negotiations between the interested governments.

*The Insurrection in Mexico* A survey of the condition of the countries and peoples bordering on the Caribbean Sea indicates that, in the first weeks of the year 1911, revolution and rebellion against constituted governments and general political and economic unrest are more widespread than for some years past in these countries. The insurrection in Mexico had attained, by the first of the year, almost the proportions of a civil war. The actual fighting has been generally confined to the State of Chihuahua, although outbreaks in other states have been reported. The entire insurrection, however, as we pointed out last month, is directed not so much against the central government as against abuses of local administration. In Chihuahua the present movement is really a protest against the exactions of the state government, which is controlled by certain rich families, holding monopolistic control of the business opportunities, rather than against the Diaz régime at Mexico City. Many exaggerated reports of battles and losses of life have been published. Authoritative statements, however, indicate that the losses up to the present have not exceeded 400. The so-called revolutionists, who have much justification, suffer from lack of a competent leader. Their strength, which is considerable, comes chiefly from their position in the mountainous districts, from which it has hitherto seemed impossible to dislodge them. President Diaz, it is believed, contemplates extensive changes in the administration of Chihuahua. The census of Mexico has just been taken, and it indicates that the population of the republic is now over 15,000,000.

*Is It Revolution in Honduras?* A long threatened insurrection against the Government of Honduras broke out late in December.

There seems to be a great deal of opposition to General Davila, now President of the republic. Former President Bonilla headed the uprising, and there was some fighting during the first days of the year, with what result it is not as yet clear. There are evi-

dences that the insurrectionary movement in Honduras has been instigated and encouraged from Guatemala. That republic, according to repeated complaints received at the State Department, has been giving active aid and support to the Bonilla movement. On January 15, the American representative at Guatemala city, by direction of Secretary Knox, made vigorous representations to President Cabrera, of Guatemala, against these alleged violations of the Washington convention (agreed upon by all the Central American Republics in 1907) requiring absolute neutrality in the event of a revolution in a neighboring republic.

*Financing Honduras and Guatemala* After more than a year of negotiations, the proposed loan for the reorganization of the finances of Honduras has been made possible by the convention, signed last month, between Secretary Knox and General Parades, Honduran Minister of Finance, which binds the government at Tegucigalpa to fulfill the obligations of a loan made recently by American financiers. Like most Central American countries, Honduras has ignored her foreign debt for so long that the unpaid interest is now greater than the original debt. The treaty above referred to, which was signed on January 10, virtually guarantees payment, but does not, as was reported in the newspapers at the time, establish a financial protectorate over Honduras such as the United States now exercises over Santo Domingo. Guatemala also is trying to straighten out her finances. Her government is negotiating with certain American financiers for a loan of \$40,000,000 to be used in refunding her foreign debt.

*Nicaragua Steadyng Herself* On the first day of the year diplomatic relations were renewed by our State Department with the Government of Nicaragua, thus terminating an official estrangement which has lasted since December 1, 1909. At that date Secretary Knox handed his famous note, criticizing the Zelaya administration, to the Nicaraguan representative at Washington. Mr. Knox stated that the United States Government would not recognize any president until he had been constitutionally elected by the people of Nicaragua. This condition was fulfilled by the election of General Juan Estrada on December 31 by unanimous vote of the Nicaraguan Congress. He is recognized as the legal head of the republic for the regular term of two years. General Estrada, in his first message to the Congress, proposed gradual

disarmament, public improvements, the development of agriculture, a lower tariff and the negotiation of a foreign loan with the aid of the United States Government.

*Costa Rica,  
Haiti,  
and Cuba* Costa Rica also has made an agreement with American financiers for the refunding of her foreign debt of about \$14,000,000. Haiti and Santo Domingo have renewed their old quarrel about a certain tract of land occupied by the former but claimed by the latter. A boundary dispute between these two republics on the same West Indian island is of long standing. Its interest to Americans consists chiefly in the fact that important commercial concessions to American citizens are involved. Both republics, however, have agreed to submit the dispute to "investigation commissions." Despite some mutterings of threatened insurrection in Cuba during the past year, that republic has attained a degree of stability that is very gratifying to the American people and the country in general. President Gomez enters upon the third term of his administration apparently under much better auspices than those which attended his other inaugurations.

*Panama,  
Ecuador,  
Brazil* During the last days of 1910 several efforts were made by the Government of Panama to establish friendly relations between the little isthmian republic and her big neighbor, Colombia, of which she was formerly a constituent state. Dr. Carlos Mendoza, acting as a special commissioner of the Panamanian Government, was sent to Bogotá to negotiate a treaty of peace. The Colombian Government, however, has not ceased to (officially) regard Panama as Colombian territory, and

Dr. Mendoza's mission failed. The other South American countries have apparently entered upon the new year peacefully and prosperously. It is true that the boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador is still unsettled. Peru, however, has agreed to submit the question to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration, and it is expected that Ecuador will follow suit. Early in January General Emilio Estrada was elected President of the latter republic to succeed General Alfaro. He will be inaugurated on August 31 next. The new President of Chile, Dr. Ramón Barros Luco, was inaugurated on December 23. Dr. Luco was elected in October to succeed the Minister of Justice, Señor Figueroa. It will be remembered that in one month, September last, Chile lost both her President, Señor Montt, and her Vice President, Señor Albano. The close commercial connection between the Brazilian Republic and Europe was emphasized several weeks ago by the laying of a new cable connecting Germany with Brazil. The line, which extends from Cologne to the Canary Islands, and thence from Liberia to Pernambuco, Brazil, is subsidized by the Berlin Government, and is expected to be open for business next month.

*The Situation  
in Great Britain* The final results of the general election held in Great Britain in December last show that, in the second Parliament of King George, England will be represented by 465 members, of whom 190 are Liberals, 239 Unionists, 35 Laborites and 1 Nationalist; Scotland by 72 members (Liberals 58, Unionists 11, Laborites 3); Wales by 30 members (Liberals 23, Unionists 3, Laborites 4), and Ireland by 103 members (Liberals 1, Unionists 19, Nationalists 75 and independent Nationalists 8). This makes a



"TWAS BUT A LITTLE CHRISTMAS PUDDING THE LIBERALS GOT

MOTHER ASQUITH: "I'm afraid, children, its only a little one this time." THE SEQUEL (Mr. Redmond still dominates the situation in Parliament)

From the *Daily Express* (London)



MR. CHURCHILL, BRITISH HOME SECRETARY, AT THE "BATTLE OF STEPNEY"

(For the details of this conflict see the paragraphs on this and following pages)

total of 398 in the government coalition against 272 of the opposition. Thus, after a year's campaigning and great political excitement, the balloting shows that the parties in Great Britain remain almost exactly as they were after the preceding election. The Unionists claim that if all the seats had been contested (163 were returned without balloting) the Liberal plurality would have been greatly reduced. On the other hand, the Liberal leaders point to the loss they sustained because of the sudden shelving, just before election, of Tariff Reform, by the adoption of the referendum, and the determined attack made by the Suffragettes on Liberal seats held by very small majorities. Had it not been for these setbacks the Liberals claim they would have greatly increased their majorities in the Commons. They also insist that if plural voting were abolished, the ministry would have had a majority of at least 200.

*The Program of Parliament* When Parliament meets, on the first day of the present month, it will proceed at once to put through its measure abolishing the veto power of the Lords. It remains to be seen whether

*London  
and Her  
Anarchists*

No better evidence could be furnished of the nervous state of mind to which our British brethren have been brought by the war talk that has flooded press and platform in the "tight little island" for the past few years than the tragi-comic melodrama enacted last month in the streets of London. Not even the result of the elections, nor the Parliamentary program, not even the impending fate of the House of Lords, nor the imminence of Home Rule for Ireland, absorbed so much of the attention of the British public from "John o' Groat's to Land's End," as did the police struggle with the anarchists, now being referred to as the "Battle of Stepney." The

trouble originated in the middle of December, when three policemen were shot dead and two others wounded in an attempt to arrest a gang of Russian criminals who were found breaking open a jeweler's safe in the squalid district of Whitechapel. One of the criminals was also shot, and from evidence found on him, it was learned, after several weeks' investigation, that in a certain street in Stepney between the business districts of the City and the poverty-stricken region of the East End, there was a small arsenal and a "factory" for manufacturing high explosives.

*The  
"Battle of  
Stepney"* Similar discoveries are of every-day occurrence in Russia, and not unknown in some other countries.

In England, however, the unearthing of this murderer's den created consternation of national proportions. Two anarchists of Russian, or German, origin were found to be hiding in the aforesaid house on Sidney Street, in Stepney. A large body of police surrounded the house, and in a few moments a pitched battle was on between the anarchists, who were well supplied with firearms and ammunition, and the police. The London "bobby" does not carry firearms except under the most extraordinary circumstances, and for a few hours the daring and accurate firing of the beleaguered foe wrought havoc in the police lines and among some of the spectators. Reinforcements were called out, until finally 1,500 police, two half companies of the Scot's Guards, and a battalion of rapid-fire guns from the Royal Horse Artillery were drawn up against the anarchist garrison. The attacking force was further augmented by a corps of nurses, a fire company, the assistant Commissioner of Police and no less a personage than the Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill, the Home Secretary and member of the Imperial Cabinet, besides thousands of spectators, some of whom paid high prices for positions of vantage on neighboring roofs. The five or six hours' combat was terminated with the destruction of the building by fire, in which the anarchists perished.

*The  
Meaning of  
It All* Why all this excitement and fear over a task which, it may be said conservatively, could and would

have been performed quietly and effectively by a very small body of police in almost any other city in the world? In the first place, as we have already remarked, despite the fact that many anarchists and other dangerous characters are known to live in London, the police of the British metropolis are not gen-

erally armed. Crimes of violence are comparatively rare in England, and burglars and other law-breakers themselves seldom make use of firearms. The British mind, however, is, and has been for several years, at a very nervous tension over the possibility of a war of invasion, and the mention of a foreigner in a hostile attitude often produces astonishing results. Such a spectacle, however, as London saw on January 3, in one of its most congested quarters, cannot be good for the *morale* of the police or for its prestige among the law-breaking classes. The "Battle of Stepney" and its results is likely to have an important influence on the British Government's future treatment of anarchists, and in its general attitude toward alien immigration. Unlike almost all other European nations, Great Britain has scarcely ever molested reputed anarchists in London, provided they committed no overt acts against the public peace. For this tolerance the British Government has often been severely condemned by other nations who occasionally suffer from the anarchist activity of which London is the center. The coroner's verdict upon the occurrence, rendered January 18, carried a "rider" to the effect that "the event proves the need of more stringent laws regarding the admission of alien criminals into this country."

*British Fears of Germany* Four other incidents occurring at about the same time bore additional testimony to the apprehension now existing in England, regarding her international security. Early in December, an entertainment was given in the Guildhall, in London, to the officers of the visiting American fleet. On that occasion, Commander W. S. Sims, commanding the battleship *Minnesota*, made an enthusiastic speech in the course of which he said:

In my personal opinion, if the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, you may count upon every man, every dollar, every ship, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the seas.

This was, of course, going beyond bounds, no matter how purely personal an opinion it may have been, or how largely it may be shared by his countrymen. A number of German journals and some German-American organizations took umbrage at this as a veiled threat to their fatherland, and for his indiscretion, Commander Sims has been officially reprimanded. The news of the speech, however, reached the British public at about the time Englishmen learned the sentence

passed by the German court upon the two British officers convicted of spying on a communication to Americans of correct information about Germany, has been followed by the donation of a large gift to Columbia University for the purpose of founding and equipping a "*Deutsches Haus*." The donor of this fund, Mr. Edward D. Adams, President of the Germanistic Society of America, aims at making the "*Deutsches Haus*" a bureau of information regarding educational institutions and movements in both countries. It is, moreover, to contain a "Germanic Institute" equipped for the study of German history and civilization, under the direction of a competent German scholar. To add to these evidences of mutual goodwill and esteem, we must not forget to record the gift of \$1,250,000, made last month by Mr. Andrew Carnegie as a Hero Fund for Germany, for the purpose of "rewarding acts of valor and self-sacrifice in times of peace."

*What of Holland and Belgium?* Only a few days later the Dutch Government permitted it to be known, in a discreet, semi-official way, that it had decided to expend a large sum of money in erecting a fortress at Flushing, at the mouth of the Scheldt River. Holland owns both banks of the Scheldt at its mouth, and by fortifying these could keep out any ships bound for Antwerp, the Belgian commercial center, less than one hundred miles up the river. This fortification project is regarded in England as having been determined upon at the behest of the German Kaiser. It has been known that the Dutch are almost in a panic over a possible absorption by Germany, and have adopted a policy of conciliation in advance. Antwerp is the seagate of Belgium, and Great Britain is under treaty obligations to defend the realm of King Albert against any outside attack. Therefore, declare the British alarmists, by preventing a British naval force from reaching Antwerp, Holland has played the game of Germany against England. We had something to say last month as to just how definite are German aims and ambitions with regard to Holland and Belgium, quoting from an article by Sir Harry Johnston, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The Russo-German agreement over Persia, made public during the first days of the year, acted as further fuel to the flame of British feeling against German ambitions.

*German-American Friendship* Much has been done during recent years to strengthen the official friendship between the American and German governments, and many efforts have been made to make the two peoples understand each other so that the official friendship might gradually find deeper roots in public consciousness. The establishment, some years ago, of the Roosevelt Exchange Professorship at the University of Berlin, and the Kaiser Wilhelm Professorship at Harvard, have permitted the delivery of a number of highly instructive and useful lectures in this country and in Germany, which have conducted greatly toward the promotion of cordial relations. The recent foundation, in the German capital, of the "*Amerika Institut*," for the dissemination among Germans of

correct information about America, and the communication to Americans of correct information about Germany, has been followed by the donation of a large gift to Columbia University for the purpose of founding and equipping a "*Deutsches Haus*." The donor of this fund, Mr. Edward D. Adams, President of the Germanistic Society of America, aims at making the "*Deutsches Haus*" a bureau of information regarding educational institutions and movements in both countries. It is, moreover, to contain a "Germanic Institute" equipped for the study of German history and civilization, under the direction of a competent German scholar. To add to these evidences of mutual goodwill and esteem, we must not forget to record the gift of \$1,250,000, made last month by Mr. Andrew Carnegie as a Hero Fund for Germany, for the purpose of "rewarding acts of valor and self-sacrifice in times of peace."

*Not Endangered by Speeches, or Potash* Our German friends have apparently become so desirous of cultivating our goodwill that many of them, both at home and in this country, deeply resented the fancied slight in the indiscreet speech of Commander Sims's, referred to above. The cruise of the American fleet in December, which included the stay at London, during which this now famous speech was delivered, did not give the warships time to stop at any German port. This fact made the Sims speech seem more objectionable. It is now generally understood that another cruise is being arranged for the coming summer, during which an official visit will be made to German ports. Several German writers, including the well-known economist, Count von Reventlow, have published articles and given interviews expressing the opinion that the fleet's avoidance of German waters might be due to existing economic differences between the United States and Germany, particularly in regard to the potash dispute. Of course, such a statement is too childish to merit any serious attention. The differences between the governments at Washington and Berlin over the question of German restrictions of the trade in potash and its effect upon contracts made by American fertilizer companies are in a fair way to be settled very shortly with satisfaction to both sides of the controversy. The German Government desires to conserve its potash resources. This it has an undoubted right to do. The authorities at Berlin, however, will not deny that the regulations recently imposed upon the potash trade, work a hard-

ship to some American manufacturers of fertilizers. There can be no doubt that these merchants will be accorded fair play and the fulfillment of treaty provisions. In another article, on page 212 this month, we give an outline of the main points of this controversy, as well as supplying some interesting information as to Germany's advantageous position as the world's source of this precious soil constituent, potash.

*The Kaiser's European Policies* On the eighteenth day of last month, with quiet but appropriate ceremonies, the German people commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the proclamation of the new German Empire at Versailles. This is the culmination of a series of celebrations of Prussian victories over France. The ceremonies, however, have been of such a nature and were observed in such a way that no offense has been taken by the French people. At any rate, no public manifestation of displeasure has been recorded. It seems fortunate that, while these German triumphs in war were being commemorated, the imperial authorities at Berlin were completing the arrangements for promulgating a constitution for Alsace-Lorraine, the two provinces conquered from the French in 1871. This new constitution, while it does not grant autonomy to the Alsatians and the Lorrainers, does give them a more dignified and independent status in the imperial family of states.

*Germany's Game in the Near East* While there has not been any diminution of the Anglo-German animosity, during recent weeks the Germans have avoided giving offense to France in a very delicate matter. They believe that, despite temporary setbacks, they have kept intact their friendship with the United States. They have beyond a doubt improved their relationship toward their eastern neighbor. Early last month, there was published in the European press generally, a statement that Germany and Russia had come to a definite agreement regarding their respective interests in Persia, Turkey and Asia Minor. The basis of this agreement was reached, it was said, several months ago, when Czar Nicholas visited Kaiser Wilhelm at Potsdam. The exact character of the agreement has not as yet been made public. It is understood, however, to refer principally to German ambitions in Persia, and to settle definitely Russia's attitude toward the Bagdad Railway. Germany now virtually has a free hand in the Near East, and will undoubtedly

hereafter be a more than interested spectator in the game of diplomacy being played by Russia and England, which has for its apparent object the ultimate dismemberment of Persia.

*Labor Legislation in France* The bill recently introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies by the Briand ministry to prevent general strikes in the future is a remarkably statesmanlike and progressive measure. The interruption of public service of any kind, says the report accompanying the measure, is a crime. At the same time, public service employees, like other workers, "have a right to amelioration of their condition." For the purpose of reconciling these two points of view the government bill proposes to give the workers a weapon "as powerful as the strike and yet legal and reasonable." Provision is made for the creation of a "Conciliation Commission," composed of representatives of railroad and other public service companies, as well as the administrative boards of all the government-controlled systems. This commission will meet at regular intervals, and when conciliation fails, resort will be had to compulsory arbitration. The commission is given power, in cases where the decision imposes an additional expense upon the companies, to indicate a method whereby they can secure compensation, either by raising rates or by other means. It is expected that the companies will agree. Whether willing or not, however, "they must accede," because in the words of the report

it is now conceded as a principle of jurisprudence that the State, in conceding public service monopolies, does not waive its right to interfere and compel the concessionaires to grant ameliorations in the interest of public good and the preservation of public order.

The report, in conclusion, reviews arbitration experiments throughout the world, particularly commending those carried on in the United States and in Australia.

*The Success of Canalejas* Premier Canalejas of Spain has secured the enactment into law of the first important item on his program of reform. The so-called "Padlock Bill," which prohibits the establishment of any new religious congregations in Spain for two years, was passed by a large majority in the lower house of the Cortes, on December 23. It had been passed by the Senate a month before. This result, as the Premier himself said in a speech to the parliament, "has been achieved in the nick of time."

The closure of monasteries and convents in Portugal a few months ago had resulted in the settlement in Spain of all, or most, of Portugal's monks and nuns. This great addition to the large increase that followed Spain's loss of her colonies in the war with the United States, and particularly since the expulsion of certain orders from France, greatly complicated the situation facing Señor Canalejas. While it will be impossible to keep out the large numbers of members of the orders already existing in Spain which have come from other countries, the provisions of the "Padlock Bill" will prevent the establishment of any new "congregations" until a definite understanding has been arrived at between the Spanish Government and the authorities at the Vatican. During early January King Alfonso made a trip throughout Spain's "sphere of influence" in Morocco, making several days' stay in Melilla, the outpost of the Spanish army of occupation. It is reported that he was most enthusiastically received by the Spanish forces and accorded unexpectedly cordial treatment by the Moorish government and military officials.

*Problems  
of the  
New Portugal* The republican ship of state in Portugal seems to have entered troubled waters. As was to be expected, the provisional government could not begin to satisfy the illiterate populace which had revolted against the abuses of the monarchy. The republican régime has been issuing many proclamations announcing sweeping reforms. The people read these and go on living as before until some fairly definite promise fails of realization, and then, as happened last month, there are strikes and other disorders. The ministry has, as yet, put off calling a republican assembly that might limit its power. It has, however, elaborated a plan of government for a permanent Portuguese republic. This plan is based on the parliamentary system of France, with certain modifications adopted from our own country. According to the ambitious scheme proposed by the provisional cabinet, the President of the Republic will be chosen by Parliament for a term of five years, and will not be eligible for reëlection. As in France, the Cabinet is to be appointed by the President "in accord with the political complexion of the legislative body." The Ministers of War, Marine, Finance and Public Works, however, being considered non-political, will continue "irremovable even in the event that the government loses the confidence of Parliament."

*Will there  
be a Counter-  
Revolution?*

Keen European observers are expecting a counter-revolution at Lisbon before many months. The army and navy, which accomplished the radical change in October last, are disappointed because certain reforms have not yet been carried out. Moreover, the anti-clerical measures of the government have offended the Catholic population. Many of the aristocratic and commercially wealthy classes have emigrated, and this has caused a general depression in business and the appearance of "hard times." Finally, the withdrawal of funds from Portuguese banks by these wealthy *émigrés* to be deposited in Paris or elsewhere, has produced a stringency in the money market, and the government, in order to relieve this, has issued paper currency far in excess of its gold reserve. It will require statesmanship of a high order and patience not usually found among Iberian politicians to pilot the Portuguese ship of state through the troubled waters of the next year.

*How  
China  
Moves*

The Chinese National Assembly, the first deliberative body in the history of the empire, began its sessions on October 3. It dissolved on January 11, after a rather stormy career marked by frequent clashes with the throne and the Grand Council. While it failed to secure most of the reforms it asked, it did good work in preparing the way for a general parliament in 1913. The Regent refused to create a responsible ministry at once, as was asked, but did advance the date for the summoning of a general parliament. One of the demands of the Assembly was for the promulgation of an imperial edict abolishing the queue. The wording of the demand scornfully spoke of "the pigtail commemorating the subjection of the nation by a race [the Manchus] which is now absorbed by a hardier people." The throne refused this demand. Nevertheless an increasing number of officials and private citizens are parting with their queue. Under modern conditions of life it has been proven unhygienic. Moreover it exposes its wearer to accidents. Curiously enough, the only formulated objection to its abolition has come in the form of petitions from the silk and cotton merchants of Shanghai and Canton, who complain that the new fashion would change the style of dress, and from a number of dealers in artificial human hair, who fear lest the "market" will be flooded with "cheap Chinese goods." It is interesting to note the fact that an American concern (the New York Shipbuilding Company of Camden,

New Jersey, makers of the Dreadnought railroad in the Island of Luzon, and the *Arkansas*, which was launched last month) has just secured a contract for building the first Chinese man-of-war ever laid down in this country. Heretofore England and Japan have built all China's war vessels.

*As Seen by an American Observer*

History is being made rapidly in China these days, so rapidly that the magazine articles and even the news despatches find it difficult to keep up with the reality. We have recorded the main facts of this progress, from time to time, in these pages and, during the past two years, have printed several illustrated articles prepared by experts on events in the Celestial Empire. In this number we take great pleasure in presenting to our readers a vivid report of progress, prepared, not by an authority on Chinese affairs, but by a keen, alert, observant American editor who has been traveling in the Far East for some months. Mr. Clarence Poe, one of the representative wide-awake leaders of the new South, is editor and proprietor of a number of agricultural journals having a large circulation in the South. He comes at the subject with the fresh, keen, questioning mind of the modern American journalist, and we are confident our readers will find a good deal of instruction and stimulus to further reading in his article "China Awake and at Work" which is found on page 191 this month.

*The Contented Filipinos*

That the natives of the Philippine Islands are now measurably contented under American rule is made quite plain by the annual report, recently issued, of General Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. About 11,000 regular troops are garrisoned throughout the islands, but, says General Edwards, "no call upon them has been necessary during the past year or seems likely in the immediate future." Order is maintained by the Philippine Constabulary, that splendid body of native police commanded by American army officers. We have more than once found occasion in these pages to commend the excellent work of this Constabulary. Secretary Dickinson, who recently made an extended tour of the islands, heartily commends this force, not only for its regular service, but for "its auxiliary sanitary work, especially during epidemics." The number of native depositors in the Postal Savings Bank has increased during the past year by almost 100 per cent. According to General Edwards's report there are now 375 miles of

railroad in the Island of Luzon, and the Manila Railroad Company is under contract to lay 400 miles more. Many natives are employed on these roads as agents, clerks, engineers, conductors and mechanics, and they are characterized as "industrious, efficient and responsible." General Edwards refers to what he calls the "filipinization" of the civil service of the Island. He says:

It may be regarded now as an understood rule that wherever an American for any reason quits the service he is to be relieved, so far as is possible with due regard to efficiency, by a Filipino at an equivalent salary so far as the duty itself is concerned, but adjusted to meet the different conditions of living and the difference made necessary on the part of the American employee by service abroad and the long distances necessarily traveled in reaching and returning from his post of duty.

*A Decade of Australia*

On New Year's day the Commonwealth of Australia attained a larger measure of independence than it has possessed during the preceding ten years of its existence. The Commonwealth was proclaimed at Sydney on January 1, 1901. The Constitution which had been adopted by all the component states: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia and the Island of Tasmania, provided that, until a permanent site had been chosen for the capital, the Federal government should sit at Melbourne. The capital city, when chosen, "must be in New South Wales, not less than 100 miles from the city of Sydney." Three years ago the Parliament decided that the choice should fall on the district of Yass-Canberra, that the federal reservation should contain not less than 900 square miles and that it should have access to the sea. On January 1, the Yass-Canberra site was approved by the Parliament as the site of the Federal capital, and the bill authorizing the erection of government buildings was passed on the same day. The Constitution also provided that for ten years after the establishment of the Commonwealth, not more than one-quarter of the net revenue from duties and excises should be applied to Federal expenditure. This condition expired on the first day of the present year, and the central government thus acquired complete financial independence of the states. With the present year also the Defense Act requiring compulsory training comes into active operation. During 1911 the central government assumes direct control over the Northern territory, and the present ministry has promised to proceed without delay to the survey of the much needed transcontinental railway.

# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 20, 1910, to January 19, 1911)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 20.—The Senate passes the Omnibus Claims bill (\$2,000,000). . . . The House considers the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill.

December 21.—The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections reports that the charges of bribery in connection with the election of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) have not been sustained.

January 5.—Both branches reassemble after the holiday recess.

January 7.—The House considers the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill.

January 9.—In the Senate, Mr. Beveridge (Rep., Ind.) presents the minority report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, declaring that Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) was not legally elected to the Senate of the United States. . . . The House, by vote of 222 to 53, reverses its position on a question of rules similar to that of last March.

January 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Crawford (Rep., S. D.) charges that Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) knew of fraud in connection with his election. . . . The House passes the Sulloway Pension bill, which adds \$45,000,000 annually to the pension roll.

January 11.—In the Senate, Mr. Gallinger (Rep., N. H.) explains his Postal Subvention bill; Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) presents the report of the Committee on Judiciary in favor of a Constitutional amendment providing for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people.

January 12.—The House passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill (\$35,000,000).

January 13-14.—The House considers the Army appropriation bill.

January 16.—In the House, a combination of "insurgent" Republicans and Democrats overrules a decision of the Speaker.

January 17.—The Senate debates the Postal Subvention bill. . . . The House passes the Army appropriation bill (\$93,000,000).

January 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Burrows (Rep., Mich.) defends the committee report on the Lorimer investigation, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) attacking it. . . . The House debates the Moon bill for codifying laws relating to the judiciary.

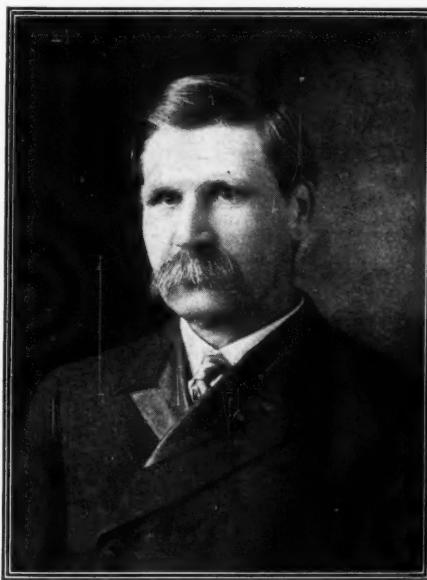
January 19.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) speaks in favor of the popular election of United States Senators.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT — AMERICAN

December 20.—A petition for the "recall" of Mayor Gill, of Seattle, Wash., under the provisions of the city charter, is signed by more than 11,000 voters.

December 24.—The American Sugar Refining Company agrees to refund to the Government drawbacks amounting to \$700,000.

December 26.—President Taft approves the expenditure of \$20,000,000 for reclamation work in the West.



SENATOR-ELECT A. J. GRONNA, OF NORTH DAKOTA  
(Representative Gronna has been chosen by the Legislature to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Johnson)

December 27.—A civil suit against the Beef Trust in the federal court at Chicago is withdrawn in order that criminal proceedings may be instituted.

January 2.—The Iowa Railroad Commission orders a reduction in express rates of from 5 to 20 per cent.

January 3.—The United States Supreme Court dismisses the Government's Panama-Canal libel suit against the New York *World*.

January 4.—The Government brings action under the Sherman law to dissolve the Atlantic steamship combine.

January 7.—It is announced that Oscar S. Straus has resigned as ambassador to Turkey; W. W. Rockill is appointed to succeed him.

January 8.—Governor Glasscock, of West Virginia, appoints Davis Elkins to succeed his father in the United States Senate until the Legislature elects a successor.

January 9.—The reargument of the Government's suit to dissolve the Tobacco Trust is begun in the United States Supreme Court.

January 10.—Lieut.-Gov. Atlee Pomerene (Dem.) is chosen United States Senator from Ohio. . . . The California Legislature elects Judge John D. Works (Rep.) United States Senator. . . . The Florida Senatorial primary fails to give any candidate the necessary majority. . . . President Taft orders that Commander Sims, U. S. N., be publicly reprimanded for indiscreet remarks during a recent speech in London. . . . The city of

Boston, by vote of 36,855 to 17,420, declares in favor of license.

January 12.—President Taft, in a special message to Congress, asks for \$5,000,000 to begin the work of fortifying the Panama Canal. . . . The Government's suit to dissolve the Standard Oil monopoly is brought up for reargument before the United States Supreme Court.

January 17.—Charles F. Johnson (Dem.) is chosen by the Maine Legislature to succeed Mr. Hale (Rep.) in the United States Senate. . . . James A. Reed (Dem.) is elected United States Senator from Missouri, succeeding Mr. Warner (Rep.). . . . Both houses of the Connecticut Legislature choose ex-Gov. George P. McLean (Rep.) as United States Senator. . . . Gilbert M. Hitchcock (Dem.) is chosen United States Senator from Nebraska. . . . The North Dakota Legislature re-elects Porter J. McCumber (Rep.) and chooses A. J. Gronna (Rep.) to serve for the unexpired term of the late Senator Johnson. . . . Moses E. Clapp (Rep., Minn.) and George A. Sutherland (Rep., Utah) are re-elected to the United States Senate. . . . Senator Aldrich's plan for financial reform is made public by the National Monetary Commission.

January 18.—The Rhode Island Legislature elects Henry F. Lippitt (Rep.) United States Senator. . . . Charles E. Townsend (Rep.), who defeated Senator Burrows in the Republican primary, is elected to the United States Senate by the Michigan Legislature. . . . The Washington Legislature elects Miles Poindexter (Rep.) United States Senator. . . . John W. Kern (Dem.) is chosen by the Indiana Legislature to succeed Senator Beveridge (Rep.). . . . Henry Cabot Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and John H. Bankhead (Dem., Ala.) are re-elected to the United States Senate.

January 19.—The New York Legislature, after three days balloting, fails to elect a Democrat to succeed Mr. Depew (Rep.) in the United States Senate. . . . At a caucus of the Democratic members of the next House of Representatives, Champ Clark, of Missouri, is nominated for Speaker; the power of appointing committees is conferred upon the Ways and Means Committee. . . . The proposed income-tax amendment to the Constitution is ratified by the legislatures of Kansas and Ohio.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

December 20.—The French Chamber of Deputies endorses the Government's attitude in the railway strike.

December 22.—The French Government plans to prevent strikes among public-service utilities by means of compulsory arbitration.

December 23.—The Spanish Chamber passes the "padlock" bill, prohibiting for two years the creation of further religious orders. . . . Ramon B. Luco is inaugurated President of Chile.

December 24.—The Chinese provincial leaders agitating at Peking the immediate convocation of a general parliament are ordered home by the throne. (See page 191.)

January 1.—Gen. Juan Estrada is inaugurated President of Nicaragua. . . . King Alfonso renews his confidence in the ministry; Premier Canalejas appoints three new members to his cabinet.

January 7.—Prince Albert of Monaco establishes a constitutional form of government for his principality.

January 10.—Manuel E. Araujo is elected President of Salvador. . . . Henri Brisson, Radical Socialist, is reelected president of the French Chamber of Deputies.

January 11.—The Chinese National Assembly is dissolved. . . . Emilio Estrada is elected President of Ecuador. . . . More than twenty men are killed in a fight between Mexican soldiers and a band of insurgents at a point on the Rio Grande opposite Comstock, Texas.

January 17.—Two shots are fired at Premier Briand by a madman in the French Chamber, one of them striking M. Miram, Director of Public Relief.

January 18.—Twenty-four Japanese anarchists (one of them a woman) are condemned to death for conspiracy to kill the Crown Prince; twelve of the sentences are later commuted to life imprisonment.

January 19.—The Paraguayan congress accepts the resignation of President Gondra and elects Colonel Jara to succeed him.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 22.—Two officers of the British army are convicted at Leipsic and sentenced to four years imprisonment for spying on German fortifications.

December 23.—The Emperor of Japan, opening the Diet, emphasizes the necessity of maintaining peace.

December 31.—President Taft authorizes the formal recognition of the new government in Nicaragua. . . . An agreement between the United States and Canada, for an international railway commission to regulate rates, is made public at Washington.

January 7.—Reciprocity negotiations between officials of the United States and Canada are renewed at Washington.

January 10.—Secretary of State Knox and the Honduran Minister of Finance conclude a treaty by which the United States guarantees a loan to Honduras without assuming a financial protectorate.

January 14.—The State Department announces that complete agreement with Canada over the fisheries question has been reached.

January 15.—The United States protests to Guatemala against alleged support to the revolutionary movement in Honduras.

January 17.—Haiti and Santo Domingo sign a convention of peace, withdrawing troops from the frontier.

January 18.—Colombian troops cross the border into Peruvian territory.

#### AERONAUTICS

December 26.—Arch Hoxsey, in a Wright biplane, establishes a new height record of 11,474 feet at Los Angeles.

December 29.—At an altitude of 10,000 feet, Arch Hoxsey flies over Mount Wilson.

December 30.—In competition for the Michelin Cup in France, Maurice Tabuteau (using a Farman biplane) covers 365 miles in 7 hours and 48 minutes.

December 31.—Two of the world's foremost aviators are killed following accidents to their

machines; Arch Hoxsey falls from a height of 500 feet at Los Angeles, and John B. Moisant falls from his machine while 100 feet in the air at New Orleans.

January 18.—Eugene B. Ely flies in a Curtiss biplane from the aviation field near San Francisco to the deck of the cruiser *Pennsylvania*, thirteen miles distant, and afterward makes the return trip.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 20.—John D. Rockefeller makes a final gift of \$10,000,000 to the University of Chicago. . . . Burley tobacco growers from five States meet at Lexington, Ky., and agree to pool the 1911 crop and raise none in 1912.



THE LATE PAUL MORTON

(President of the Equitable Assurance Society; Secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's administration. Mr. Morton died suddenly of apoplexy on January 19)

December 21.—Fire destroys a business block in Cincinnati, causing the death of three persons and a property loss of \$2,500,000. . . . An explosion in a coal mine near Bolton, England, kills 360 workmen.

December 22.—Fire Marshal Horan, of Chicago, and twenty-three of his men, lose their lives during a fire in the stockyards. . . . Fourteen men are killed and forty injured in a factory fire at Philadelphia. . . . The *Mauretania*, arriving at Fishguard, Wales, completes a round trip across the Atlantic in twelve days.

December 24.—Twenty-seven persons are killed in a train wreck at Kirkby-Stephen, northern England.

December 27.—A majority of the railway employees in Italy vote in favor of a strike. . . . The Northern Bank of New York City, with nine branches and deposits of nearly \$7,000,000, is closed by the State banking officials.

December 29.—Joseph G. Robin, of New York

City, is indicted for fraud in connection with the closing of the Northern Bank.

December 31.—It is announced from Berlin that Andrew Carnegie has given \$1,250,000 for the establishment of a hero fund in Germany.

January 3.—In an attempt to arrest several alleged anarchists in London, 1500 police and soldiers take active part; the building in which they were hidden caught fire and the men are burned to death.

January 4.—The candidacy of Mme. Curie for membership in the French Academy of Sciences causes the Institute of France to declare against the admission of women to membership. . . . James J. Gallagher, who attempted to assassinate Mayor Gaynor of New York City, is sentenced to twelve years in prison as a consequence of one of the shots injuring a bystander. . . . The Washington-Alaska Bank, of Fairbanks, the largest banking institution in Alaska, closes its doors.

January 5.—Fifteen persons are killed and two-score injured in a railroad wreck in Cape Colony. . . . White burley tobacco growers representing three States meet at Lexington, Ky., and agree to plant no crop in 1911. . . . A dormitory of one of the Moody schools at East Northfield, Mass., is destroyed by fire, the loss amounting to \$100,000.

January 6.—The plant of the Minneapolis General Electric Company is wrecked by a series of explosions, causing \$500,000 damage. . . . President Taft refuses to commute the sentence of a manufacturer convicted of violating the Florida peonage law.

January 7.—The Carnegie Trust Company, of New York City, is closed by State banking officials.

January 8.—Mobs in Lisbon, Portugal, wreck the offices of three Monarchist newspapers; troops are called out to restore order. . . . The electric and telephone plant of Santiago, Chile, is destroyed by fire, the loss amounting to \$2,000,000.

January 10.—James A. Farrell is elected president of the United States Steel Corporation. . . . Three coal barges are sunk off Cape Cod during a storm, seventeen of the crews losing their lives.

January 11.—The majority of the railroad employees in Portugal strike for shorter hours.

January 12.—An earthquake at Vyerny, Asiatic Russia, is believed to have caused the death of more than 250 persons.

January 13.—The bursting of a large reservoir near Huelva, Spain, causes the death of eleven persons and the flooding of many miles of territory.

January 14.—The battleship *Arkansas* is launched at Camden, N. J. . . . The Portuguese railway strikers accept concessions made by the employers.

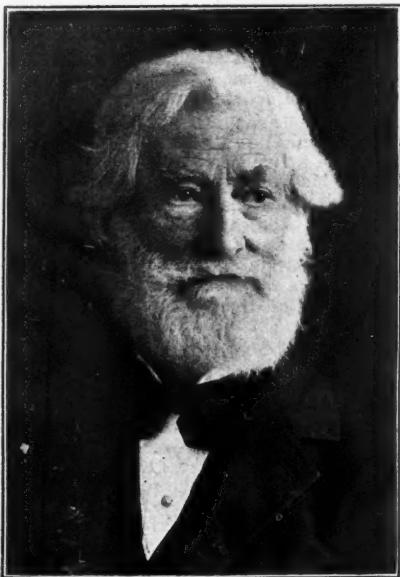
January 17.—Eight men in the boiler room of the battleship *Delaware* are killed by an explosion.

#### OBITUARY

December 20.—Seymour J. Guy, of New York, a well-known portrait painter, 86.

December 21.—James V. Watson, a prominent Philadelphia financier, 93.

December 23.—Ex-Congressman Alfonso Hart, of Ohio, 80. . . . Samuel S. Dickinson, general superintendent and vice-president of the Commercial Cable Company, 58. . . . Gen. Pierre M. F. Fréderique, the Haitian journalist and statesman, 44.



BENN PITMAN

(The venerable exponent of the art of shorthand writing, who died in Cincinnati late in December)

December 24.—Count Franz Karl Wolfgang von Ballestrem, formerly president of the German Reichstag, 76. . . . Rev. Samuel Martin, D. D., a pioneer American missionary in India, 74. . . . Joseph Friedenwald, a prominent merchant and public-spirited citizen of Baltimore, 83. . . . Commodore Perry Vedder, formerly active in New York State Republican politics, 72.

December 25.—Dr. Adams Sherman Hill, professor emeritus of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, 77. . . . Ex-Congressman John D. Young, of Kentucky, 78.

December 26.—William Coutie, a well-known scientific writer, 91. . . . Brig.-Gen. W. W. H. Davis, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, 90. . . . Major William P. Huxford, U. S. A., retired, recorder of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, 66. . . . Dr. Clara A. Swain, of Rochester, N. Y., the first woman sent as a medical missionary to the Orient, 76.

December 27.—Green McCurtain, chief of the Choctaw nation, 62. . . . Pentland ("Frank") Worthing, the actor, 43. . . . Herman Brandt, the well-known New York violinist, 68.

December 28.—Benn Pitman, a pioneer shorthand reporter, 88. . . . John W. Ellis, of New York, formerly a prominent financier, 93.

December 29.—Aaron Homer Byington, war correspondent during the Rebellion and at one time publisher of the *New York Sun*, 84. . . . Prof. Samuel Henry Butcher, M. P., of Cambridge University, an authority on Greek, 60.

December 30.—Clarence Lexow, who conducted the legislative investigation of 1894 into New York City police corruption, 58.

December 31.—John Corson Smith, of Chicago, a well-known Mason and author of several volumes of Masonic history, 78.

January 1.—Brig.-Gen. John J. Curtin, U. S. A.,

retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 72. . . . Miss Julia Arabella Eastman, founder of the Dana Hall School for Girls at Wellesley and author of children's books, 74. . . . M. Karaulov, an influential Jewish member of the Russian Duma, 75.

January 2.—Prof. Joseph Uphues, the German sculptor, 60.

January 3.—William T. Wardwell, a former treasurer of the Standard Oil Company and a well-known Prohibitionist, 83. . . . Frederick Bonner, at one time proprietor and editor of the *New York Ledger*, 54. . . . Rev. Dr. Daniel W. Faunce, author of religious works, 82.

January 4.—Stephen B. Elkins, United States Senator from West Virginia and Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Harrison, 69. . . . Francois la Moriniere, the Belgian landscape painter, 82. . . . Commodore Alexander McCrackin, U. S. N., retired, 70.

January 5.—Justice Edward B. Whitney, of the New York State Supreme Court, 53. . . . Cardinal Francesco Segna, 74.

January 6.—Sir John Aird, builder of the Asouan Dam, 77. . . . Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Ort, the well-known Lutheran minister and educator of Springfield, Ohio, 67. . . . Sister Isidore, of New Orleans, known as the "Angel of the Poor," 85.

January 7.—Edward Allen Perry, of Boston, well known as a journalist in both England and America, 64.

January 8.—George P. Rainey, formerly chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court, 65. . . . Dr. Darwin Colvin, a prominent surgeon of northern New York, 88.

January 9.—William Whiting, the paper manufacturer and former member of Congress from Massachusetts, 69. . . . Brig.-Gen. Edgar S. Dudley, U. S. A., retired, 66. . . . Robert Davis, a prominent Democratic leader of New Jersey, 62.

January 10.—Henry C. Pitney, formerly vice-chancellor of New Jersey. . . . Buenaventura Correoso, ex-President of Panama, 80.

January 11.—United States Senator Charles J. Hughes, of Colorado, 57. . . . Ex-Surgeon-General William Grier, U. S. N., 94.

January 12.—Samuel Montagu (Baron Swaythling), head of the prominent London banking house, 78. . . . Henry Burr Barnes, the New York publisher, 65.

January 13.—Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, seven times mayor of Baltimore, 77. . . . Dr. Charles J. Kipp, of Newark, N. J., an authority on eye and ear diseases, 72.

January 14.—Gen. George Brown Danby, U. S. A., retired, 81.

January 15.—Ex-Congressman C. J. Erdman, of Pennsylvania, author of the Erdman act, which applies to arbitration in labor disputes, 64.

January 17.—Sir Francis Galton, the noted English explorer and author, 89. . . . George Johnson, former chief statistician of Canada, 75. . . . Surrogate Abner C. Thomas, of New York, 67.

January 18.—Rt. Rev. William Paret, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, 85. . . . Bishop Alexander H. Vinton, of the P. E. Diocese of Western Massachusetts, 58. . . . Peter K. Dederick, New York inventor, 73.

January 19.—Paul Morton, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society and Secretary of the Navy in Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet, 54.

## CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



(Reciprocity negotiations between our State Department and the Canadian Government progressed hopefully last month)  
From the *Journal* (Detroit)



(Referring to the effort to frame legislation for a permanent  
Tariff Commission before the close of the present Congress)  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



(The passage of the good ship "Subsidy Bill" blocked by  
opposition ice in Congress)  
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)



Copyright by Harper & Brothers  
"SAY, BOSS, WHY DON'T YER HUNCH OVER A LITTLE  
TO DE ODDER SIDE? DEN DE MACHINE  
WILL RUN BETTER"  
From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)

Mr. Kemble's suggestion in the cartoon above that the "Boss" lean over a little more to the "Progressive" side of the machine seems to be in line with the President's own



WON'T TRUST THE LOAD TO THE MULE  
—Lucky mule to escape the responsibility  
From the *Press* (Philadelphia)

idea and recent actions. The newspaper announcement that Mr. Taft would seek a renomination has resulted in a number of cartoons, two of which we reproduce below. The tariff revision cartoon on this page makes the point that, although the Democratic party gained its success last fall on that issue, it seems likely to escape the responsibility of a new revision by reason of the creation of a tariff board.



IT LOOKS AS IF HE WAS GOING TO TRY THE BUMP  
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



OH, JOY!  
From the *Record* (Fort Worth)



HIS SWAN SONG  
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)

Little more than a month of life now remains for the Republican majority in Congress—hence the Elephant's "swan song." With the prospect of soon coming into power, the present Democratic minority seems to have softened somewhat its antagonism to the famous Cannon rules. The election by the Democratic caucus last month of Mr. Champ Clark as Speaker of the next Congress gives point to the cartoonist's question "What will he do with it?" In the lower right hand corner of the page Mr. Bryan is seen scrutinizing various Democratic Presidential possibilities to see whether they have the Bryan brand.



SMOKING OUT THE COON—"SPECIAL PRIVILEGE"  
From *La Follette's Weekly* (Madison)



CHAMP CLARK AND THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP  
What will he do with it?  
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



THE POLITICAL WEATHER-VANE  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



HAVE THEY THE BRYAN BRAND?  
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



ILLINOIS TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE  
"Walk straight, gentlemen! No more disgraceful performances!"

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

The State of Illinois, remembering the recent scandals connected with the State Legislature, admonishes the new body of gentlemen in the State House to "walk straight." An interesting article on the situation in Adams County, Ohio, referred to in the cartoon below, will be found on page 171 of this issue. Senatorial elections in various States last month, together with the Lorimer case, did much to strengthen public sentiment for the direct election of United States Senators.

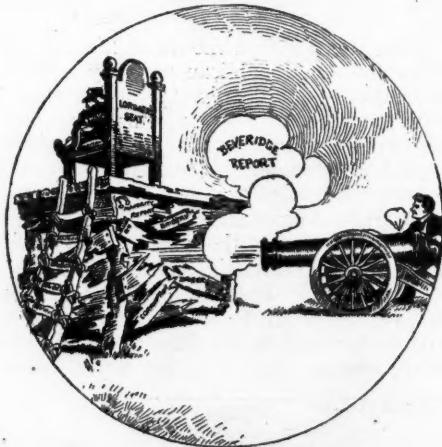


IN ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO  
"Worrying about your disfranchisement, Ezry?"  
"No; but I'm eternally disgraced. They served a warrant on me."

From the *Tribune* (New York)



REPRESENTING THE EMPIRE STATE (TAMMANY)  
From the *Press* (New York)



BEVERIDGE RIDDLING THE SUPPORT  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

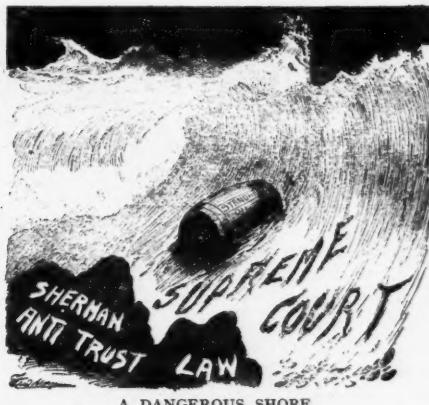


A HOPELESS EFFORT  
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)

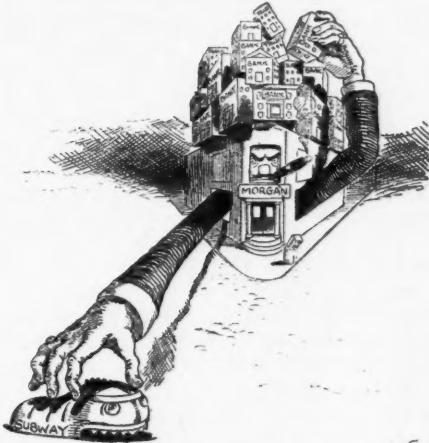


UNCLE SAM, THE NEW BANKER  
From the *Daily Bee* (Omaha)

Uncle Sam's operations as a banker for the people in the new postal savings banks will be watched with much interest. The recent acquisition of several banking institutions by Mr. J. P. Morgan, inspires the cartoonist with the suggestion that perhaps the Subway system will be the next thing to be annexed. With the Standard Oil case now pending before the Supreme Court, the question whether the oil trust will go to pieces on the shore of the Sherman anti-trust law is very much in the public mind. In the opinion of the cartoonist, the much discussed "Oregon system" of government leaves the legislator little to do.



A DANGEROUS SHORE  
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



NEXT!  
From the *World* (New York)



WHERE THE PEOPLE RULE!  
"Reckon you won't find much left to do in there, my friend."  
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)



THE CONTROVERSY ENDS  
(Government experts have reported that Commander Peary came very close to the Pole)  
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

# ASSOCIATE JUSTICE LAMAR, OF THE SUPREME COURT

BY JAMES H. BLOUNT

WHEN the Standard Oil Company, the object of this article, in its closing years, in most gigantic aggregation of private wealth in the world ever saw, is about to go on trial for its life, upon a motion made by the Government to dissolve it, before the high court which American patriotism delights to call "the greatest tribunal on earth," the personality of a newly appointed member of that court must necessarily be a matter of some interest to the general public.

The opinion of the new judge may control the decision of the court in the case, in the event the court should be divided. Four and four being eight, the Standard's life and its billions may depend upon the opinion of the ninth man. And, seeing that the ninth man, whichever of the nine he might be, can neither be bought by Standard Oil nor swayed against it by political stump speeches of amateur lawyers, all is still well with the Republic.

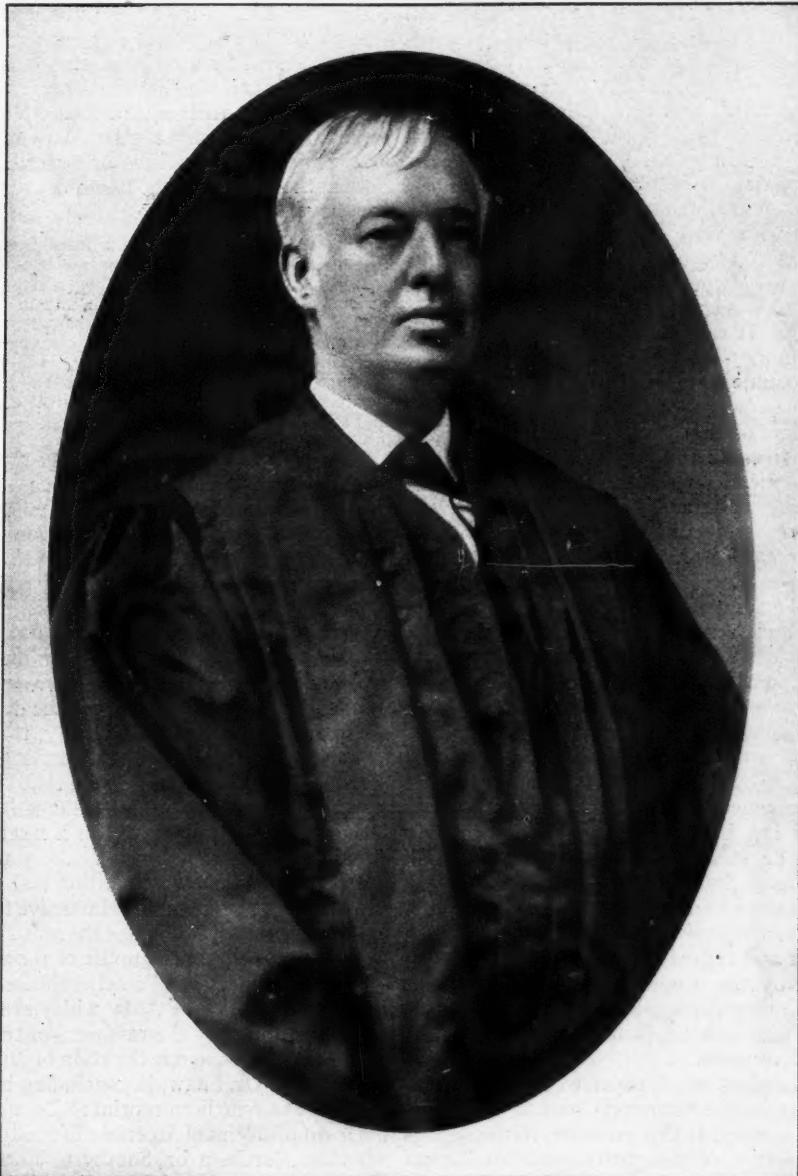
Imagine a scholarly jurist, combining something of the captivating modesty of William Dean Howells with the judicial acumen of Alton B. Parker, the purity in private life of William McKinley, and the integrity of Grover Cleveland, and you have data concerning the personal equation of Joseph Rucker Lamar, the new Associate Justice, which even the halting voice of dazzled envy would scarce gainsay.

"There is a tradition among the Lamars of Georgia," says a biographer of the new justice's famous kinsman and predecessor on the Supreme Bench, Justice L. Q. C. Lamar (who, it may be recalled in passing, before he consecrated his life to the bench, had previously served, like Chief Justice White, in the Senate, like Judges Day and Moody in the Cabinet, and, like the last named, in the House of Representatives), "that their family was of Huguenot origin . . . and fled from France in the celebrated exodus consequent upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685." However that may be, their history is as much an integral part of the history of Georgia as is that of the Adamses of Massachusetts, or that of the Bayards of Delaware. The opening years of the last century found Judge L. Q. C. Lamar, 1st, father of the L. Q. C. above, engaged, as was the sub-

ject of this article, in its closing years, in revising the statutes of the State; the early Georgia Reports (Dudley's) contain some luminous decisions of his, just as those of nearly one hundred years later contain some masterpieces by the subject hereof; and the resolutions of the bar of Baldwin Superior Court upon the occasion of his death contain a description which would quite fit the living judge: "His candor, ingenuousness and modesty were no less conspicuous than his amenity and kindness to all in any way connected with the administration of justice." Mirabeau B. Lamar, his brother, uncle of Supreme Court Justice L. Q. C., emigrated early from Georgia to Texas, led the cavalry charge that broke the Mexican line at the battle of San Jacinto, and later became President of the Republic of Texas. But that is another story. We can but glance back for a moment at the illustrious dead in passing to a nearer study of the living.

Joseph Rucker Lamar was born in Georgia on October 14, 1857; educated, after the "three R's" period, at the University of Georgia, Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va., and Washington and Lee University; married in 1880; served in the Georgia Legislature, 1886-89, as Commissioner to revise the Code, in 1895, and as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, 1903-5, resigning to resume the practice of law. Add that, except as above indicated, he has been continuously engaged in the practice of law in Augusta, Ga., for the last thirty years or so, and you have the whole story of his objective life.

It was through his service in the Legislature that Judge Lamar first became well and favorably known to the people of the State. The Georgia Legislature is quite a respectable institution comparatively. The members used to log-roll to elect judges and prosecuting attorneys, but the only evil in that was that it made them a close corporation, so the people put a stop to the system by resuming the delegated power of selecting those functionaries. They also used to take railroad passes before the passing of the pass; but they do not have "jackpots" at the end of the session for division among the faithful,



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JUSTICE JOSEPH R. LAMAR, OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

nor do they even waive the constitution pleading and put the State in line with the "between friends," and with them, a man constructive legislation of the age, which might as well be a coward as to be a crook. In the legislatures of 1886-89 Judge Lamar did yeoman service in bringing Georgia pleading and practice abreast of the times by various reforms in judicial procedure. What is known in Georgia as the Uniform Procedure Act of 1887 consolidated law and equity

pays less attention to "the science of statement" and more to the "substance of right." So that when he returned to the practice, "Joe" Lamar, as he was then widely known among the leading men in every county of the State, who knew him then, as

the whole State has since, and the nation will soon, to be a man of conspicuous probity, splendid intellect, and immense capacity for labor.

Six years after Judge Lamar retired from the Legislature, the time rolled round for the periodical revision of the State laws, which occurs in Georgia every ten or fifteen years. The suggestion of his name as one of the Commissioners to revise the Code was received with very general satisfaction, and along with two older and (then) more distinguished lawyers, he was appointed by the Governor a member of the Code Commission of 1895. It was as one of the secretaries to that Commission that the writer first had the good fortune to know the new justice, and it is because he remembers his connection with the labors of that Commission as one of the most agreeable and improving of his life and the association with Judge Lamar as especially elevating and helpful, then and ever since, that these lines are submitted by way of appreciation of him.

Justice Lamar's appointment by Gov. J. M. Terrell (who is now United States Senator from Georgia) to the Supreme Court of the State in 1903, was of course received with that general approval which naturally follows the appointment of such a man, and his subsequent service in that court has added materially to the unquestionably high standing it already had with the bar of the country.

He resigned in 1905 and resumed the practice of law in Augusta, where he probably would be still if the midwinter charms of that lovely Southern city had not attracted the presence of the President, who met him there and conceived for him the same high respect and regard that has long been entertained by the people of Georgia, as well as by all other distinguished visitors from the North who have happened to discover him on his native heath.

An incident which occurred in 1902, before he went on the Supreme Court of the State, is well worthy, at this juncture, of the serious consideration of thoughtful men. Mr. Lamar had accepted an invitation to deliver the memorial address over the graves of the Confederate dead at Athens, Ga. He took no press agent along, being exceptionally free from the habit, but he made it an occasion for talking in neighborly fashion to his own people about the race question, and how the dead, if they could only come back, would have us handle it. An educational conference happened to be on in Athens at the time, and a number of prominent Northern men, Mr. George Peabody, Dr. Albert Shaw,

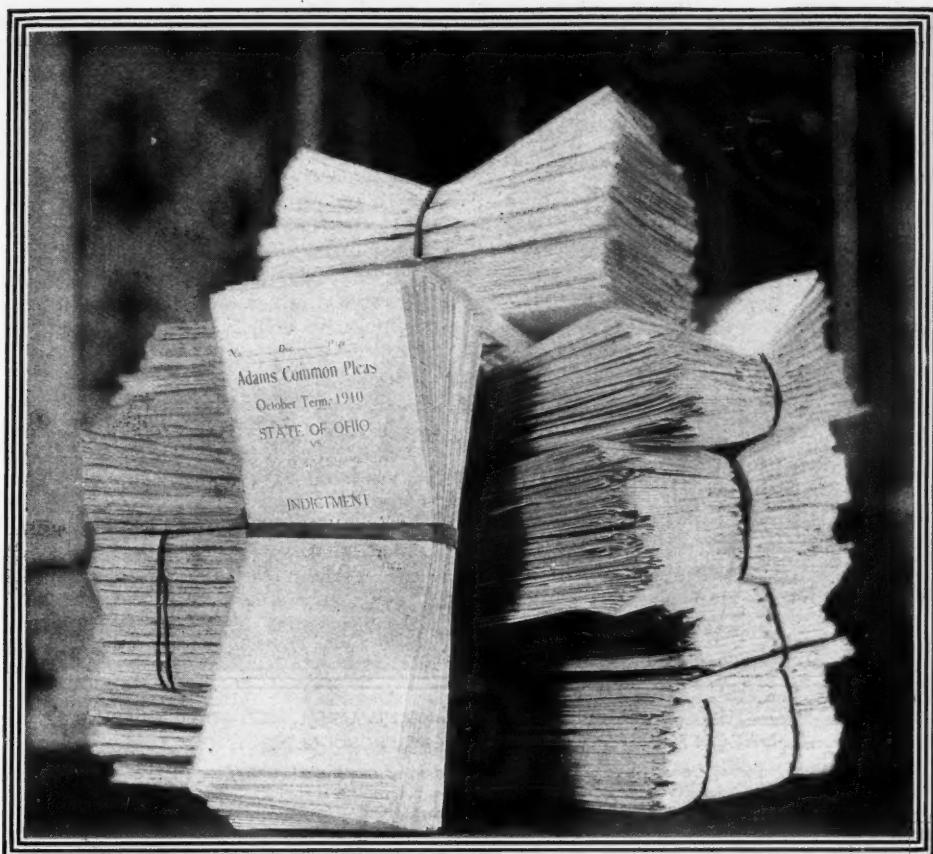
editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and others who were there to attend it, went to hear the speech. So impressed were they that they afterward asked the speaker's permission to reproduce it on their return to the North for general distribution. Let Dr. Shaw tell some of their impressions in his own words, as he does in the preface to the pamphlet reproducing the speech:

The speaker was a man who bears a name distinguished in the annals of the South and of the nation. . . . He views the race question seriously, but without pessimism, and in the true perspective . . . and he touches the very root of remedial policy when he points out the duty of the South to improve the status of the negro race on the agricultural and industrial side as preliminary to the ultimate success of universal education and effective school training.

Said Judge Lamar, among other things, in this address: "The time must come—I think it is rapidly coming—when we shall receive the sympathy of the entire nation in our effort to deal with this issue. . . . He (the negro) can only be elevated by education—not the mere education of books, but the education that comes from contact with the superior mind." And farther on in the speech, he adjures the white landowner of the South, by the sacred memory of the dead and his duty to himself and his family, that he is "bound to assist his tenant with instructions and kindly advice; bound to see that the land which he received as an inheritance from his father shall be transmitted as a heritage of equal value to his children. . . . the tenant improving his own condition and that of the land." The keynote is intensive farming and industrial education, for the mutual benefit of both races and the uplift of the weaker. "Here," said he, "is a homely solution of the race problem. . . . It will elevate the negro and multiply the resources of the land.

It will tend to wipe out the stain of illiteracy, etc." Says Dr. Shaw, in concluding his foreword to the Northern reprint: "To approach our great problems of American life and society, whether Northern or Southern, Eastern or Western, urban or rural, in the light of patriotic duty and in the broad-minded spirit of this address of Mr. Lamar's, is to do our share toward the fulfillment of a true national destiny."

Since that time the Northern millionaire philanthropists and statesmen Messrs. Carnegie, Rockefeller, Taft, and the rest, have been more and more directing their endeavors for the uplift of the negro in the South along the broad lines of Judge Lamar's speech, through the Moses of their race, Dr. Booker T. Washington.



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#### SHEAVES OF INDICTMENTS FOUND IN ADAMS COUNTY AGAINST CITIZENS WHO SOLD THEIR VOTES LAST NOVEMBER

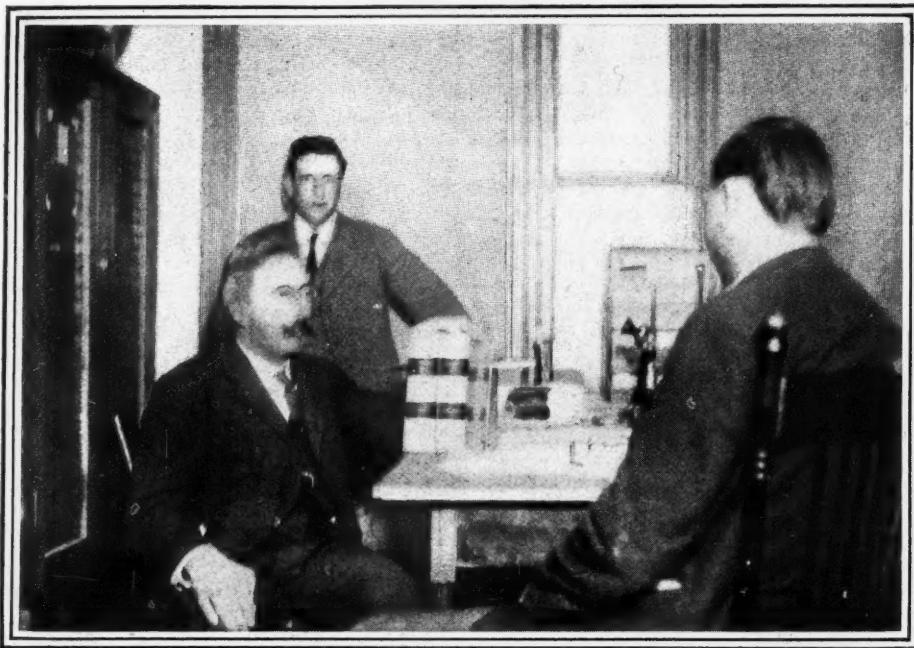
(The pictures for this article were taken for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by a representative of the American Press Association, through the courtesy of Judge Blair, with whom it was agreed that no snapshots of incriminated men should be taken without their consent. There has been no desire to present anybody in the aspect of lawbreaker or culprit)

## A NATIONAL LESSON FROM ADAMS COUNTY

BY ALBERT SHAW

A COUNTRY lawyer of courage and sagacity, serving as a local judge in southern Ohio, is now setting this country an example in methods of political reform that will give his name an enduring place in the annals of our great American experiment of self-government. By many different means,—some of them bold and flagrant, others stealthy and indirect,—the use of money has tainted the purity and honor of our politics. But of all these forms of corruption, the one most to be deplored is the poisoning of the spring

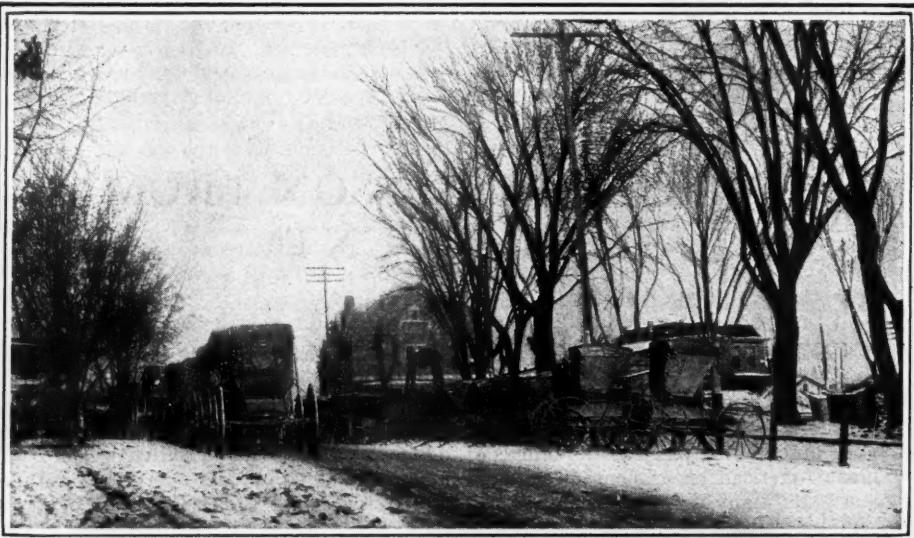
of popular government at its very source. The habitual and wholesale bribery of voters not only makes the rule of the majority a laughing-stock and a farce, but it destroys the dignity and self-respect of communities, and so impairs manhood as to fit it for the best things in every sphere of social or business life. We have had in our great cities fearful examples of ballot-box stuffing; fraudulent registration; dishonesty in the counting of votes and returning results; colonization of repeaters; false nat-



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JUDGE BLAIR (ON THE LEFT) IS HERE SEEN PURSUING HIS USUAL METHOD OF QUESTIONING A SELF-CONFESSED VOTE-SELLER BEFORE PRONOUNCING SENTENCE

("He knows a large part of the voters of the county by their first names, and when they come into court the scene is rather a social one. The judge sits on one side of a plain table, the indicted man on the other. 'How about it, John; are you guilty?' asks the judge. 'I reckon I am, Judge,' is the usual reply. 'All right, John, I'll have to fine you \$10 and you can't vote any more for five years. I'll just put a six months' workhouse sentence on top of that, but I won't enforce it as long as you behave.' 'All right, Judge. You've got the goods on me.'"—*From a newspaper report.*)



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STREET SCENE IN WEST UNION, OHIO, NEAR THE COURTHOUSE

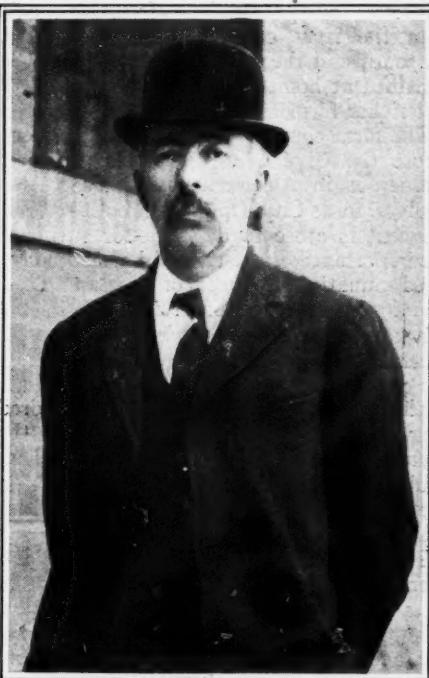
(Showing numerous vehicles of farmers and men from other parts of the county who have come to have their day in court and confess to the judge)

uralization of foreigners, and other offenses against fair and honest elections. But these things, which may indeed defeat the will of a majority of the rightful voters, are too trivial to be mentioned in comparison with the offense of corrupting the rightful voters themselves. The bribed voter has lost his natural zest for the great American game of politics. He has forsaken that tradition of party narrowness and prejudice that has its shining virtues, because the followers of Jackson or Clay were at least honest in partisanship. The voter who has reconciled himself to the practice of selling his vote to the party or the candidate that can offer the best cash price, has lost the hope and faith that make us a real "people of destiny" and that must be our reliance in any national crisis.

Sweeping reforms have at times been accomplished through the power of a concrete example, when the evil seemed most prevalent and most difficult to combat. Judge A. Z. Blair, holding court in Adams County, Ohio, has furnished such an example, and there is reason to believe that the result of his work will be felt in hundreds of counties and in many different States. Our comment, therefore, is not for the purpose of holding up that county to an unpleasant notoriety. On the contrary, Adams County is to be praised and congratulated.

With no threat, or help, or suggestion from the outside world, Adams County—lying somewhat off the main lines of travel and left a good deal to its own leadership and its own conclusions—has shown moral and social power to regenerate itself. When election day comes round again,—as, for example, next year, when a President of the United States is to be chosen as well as many other officials of narrower jurisdiction,—Adams County will have a restricted electorate of perhaps 4000 votes, as compared with the 6000 votes available for recent elections. But the 4000 next year will go to the polls with a finer pride in the honor of being sovereign American citizens than has ever been felt heretofore in any county of the United States. They will have had the thing brought home to them: some 2000 citizens of Adams County who have heretofore indulged in the practice of selling their votes will have been kept away from the polls by sentence of disfranchisement for a term of five years.

Judge Blair is himself a product of Adams County, although his home is at Portsmouth, the chief town of the adjoining county of Scioto. His judicial circuit lies in the great bend of the Ohio River at the extreme south-



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JUDGE A. Z. BLAIR, OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS FOR A GROUP OF COUNTIES IN SOUTHERN OHIO, WHO HAS DETERMINED TO END THE TRAFFIC IN VOTES WITHIN HIS JURISDICTION

ern point of the State, and includes Adams, Pike, Scioto, and Lawrence counties. This part of Ohio was settled in early pioneering days, when the Ohio River was the chief thoroughfare to the West. Many Revolutionary soldiers from Virginia and Pennsylvania went into those counties, together with pioneers from the Carolinas by way of Kentucky, and some families from New York and the Eastern States. In the Civil War these counties were represented more largely than almost any other part of the country.

Since the war, however, this southern strip of Ohio, like many other rural localities east of the Mississippi River, has been at a standstill. And where country neighborhoods are not making marked progress, they are likely to give evidence of some moral and social decadence. Just a hundred years ago there was great vitality in the pioneering communities of southern Ohio along the river. The majestic forests were rapidly broken by clearings, and the virgin soils were highly productive. There was zeal for education; and strong men and women were in the lead. But after the Civil War, many of the most

vigorous and progressive of these people dicted and disfranchised for a period of five years. Such a condition would have been not only impossible, but almost unthinkable, from the river counties went to Illinois, Missouri, and the farther west. Those who remained at home had to compete with the still richer farm lands of the prairie States.

The farm country tributary to Cincinnati before the Civil War had been the most prosperous in America. But Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and other Western centers arose to destroy—for a time—the importance of the river valleys tributary to Cincinnati as producers of grain and meat. The log-cabin stage of civilization in the first generation is not harmful. But where a checking of agricultural development holds the people of the "back townships" practically in the log-cabin stage for a hundred years, there comes a marked falling off in the average of character and efficiency. Undoubtedly some of the poorer townships of these Ohio River counties have shown this kind of tendency to social decline.

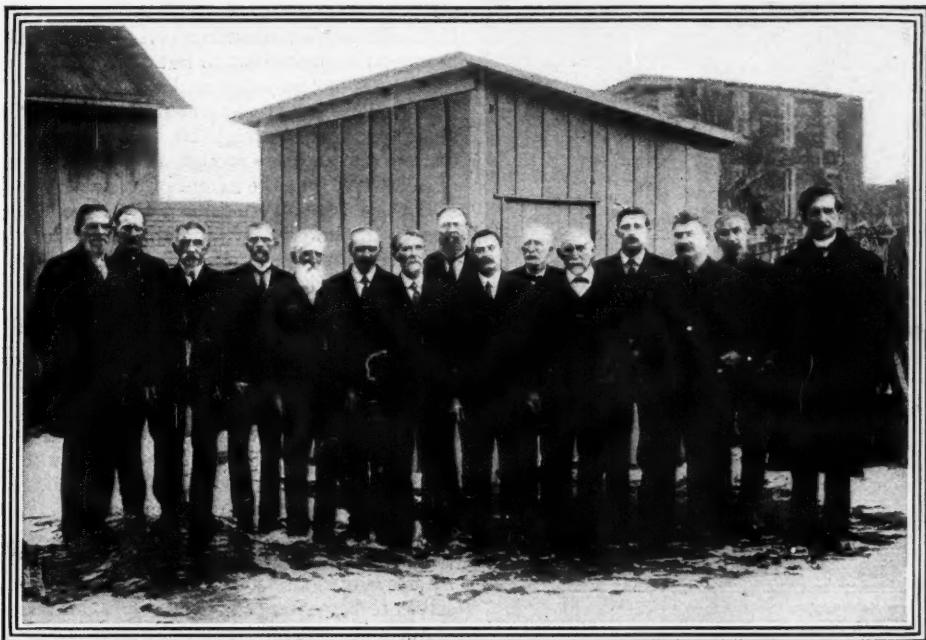
This would explain the fact that it has been found, within the past month, that in certain neighborhoods having, let us say, a hundred votes, every voter without exception was actually guilty of having sold his vote in the last election and was accordingly in-

What these communities need is a fresh start. They need a civic and industrial revival much more than they need the old-fashioned kind of religious revival. They have not been lacking in a certain sort of religious life,—at least they have had a continuity of the church organizations of the earlier days. Yet, in the drag-net of last month, not only were hundreds of church members disfranchised for the crime of making merchandise of their votes, but the list also included church officers, Sunday-school superintendents, and two or three ministers of the gospel. Yet the churches must not be disparaged; for in the main they have helped to keep alive in Adams County that spirit of decency which has at last so strongly asserted itself. In these rural counties drinking and gambling and other forms of social disorder have a tendency to destroy the vitality of the people; and the churches have for some years been fighting these bad tendencies. Judge Blair himself had been strongly identified with the movement against the



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THESE THREE MEN ARE TYPICAL TOWNSHIP PARTY WORKERS WHO APPEARED AS WITNESSES BEFORE THE GRAND JURY, OBTAINING IMMUNITY FOR THEMSELVES UNDER THE INFORMERS' LAW, IN RETURN FOR HAVING SURRENDERED THEIR LISTS OF BRIBE-TAKERS



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**THIS GRAND JURY CONSISTS OF SEVEN REPUBLICANS, SEVEN DEMOCRATS, AND ONE PROHIBITIONIST, WITH EX-CONGRESSMAN FENTON (AT THE EXTREME RIGHT) AS FOREMAN.**

(The picture was taken expressly for this magazine, Mr. Fenton knowing that it would be used in full appreciation of the grand jury's good work)

drink evil. It seems to be within bounds to say that the moral force requisite to begin the successful assault upon the trafficking in votes had been accumulated in the effort to fight down the worst evils of the drink traffic in Adams County, and to eliminate other forms of social corruption,—movements in which the women have shown greater numerical strength, and deeper power of conviction and continuous effort, than the men.

Judge Blair's great title to fame will lie in the fact that he has invented and applied a really effective method of reform. It is not that the laws of Ohio against bribery and corruption in elections are either good, bad, or indifferent. In fact they are not what they should be, as Governor Harmon now reminds the legislature. But such practices have always, everywhere, under popular governments, been manifestly unlawful. The trouble has always been, in a corrupted community, to find the leverage whereby to obtain the evidence, secure indictments, and make certain of convictions. Judge Blair himself for several years has been trying to find a way to purify the politics of Adams County, and it is only now that he has suc-

ceeded. Like almost every great thing, it all seems easy and simple when once stated. Let the outline of the method be presented in a few sentences. To begin with, the buying and selling of votes, which had been going on in Adams County for more than thirty years, had become so open and shameless as to be a matter of common knowledge. Nobody in private conversation denied the facts. Many of those who had sold their votes seemed rather proud than ashamed of the transaction. Judge Blair had been so intimately acquainted with the political life of the county that he knew, as did many others, the condition prevailing. He knew that both parties had been guilty, and that the local politicians and "party workers" had been very generally engaged in making the bargains and distributing the money, using their respective quotas of funds contributed in greater part by candidates for office.

The law of Ohio permits the judge, in a bribery case, to grant immunity to those who turn informer and become State's evidence. Judge Blair's great thought was to take all the politicians and vote-buyers in the county,



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SPECIAL PROSECUTOR WILL P. STEPHENSON, WHO HAS  
BEEN JUDGE BLAIR'S RIGHT-HAND MAN IN THE  
CLEANING-UP OF ADAMS COUNTY

to the number perhaps of two or three hundred, summon them as witnesses before a special grand jury, and promise them all immunity from present or future prosecution if they would turn over to the court and the grand jury their lists of purchased voters, with the amounts paid, and all the necessary facts. It was not Judge Blair's motive to subject any individuals whatsoever to drastic punishment, nor did he intend to humiliate any one, beyond the point of incidental necessity. His one object was to break up the practice of bribe-giving and taking. It was plain enough that if all the vote-buyers should put the grand jury in possession, frankly, of the entire truth, they would bring no harm upon themselves and a minimum of harm upon the men whose votes had been sold.

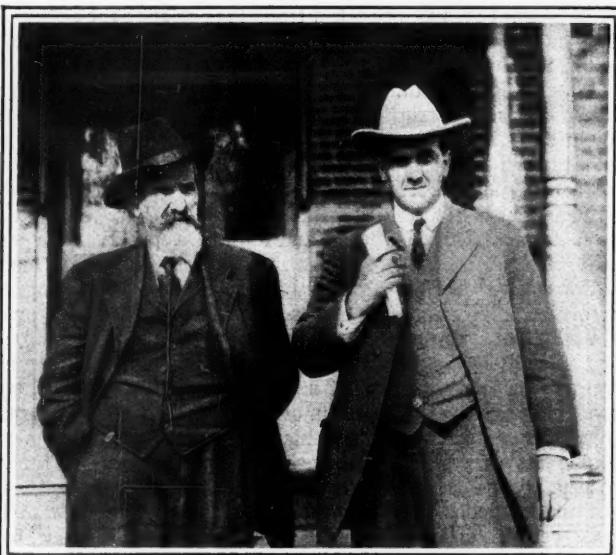
The essence of Judge Blair's scheme was leniency toward all who confessed fully and freely, and stern threats of condign punish-

ment against those who refused to confess. Under these circumstances it was clearly best for the politicians to put all the facts in the hands of the judge and the jury.

The next part of the scheme was to be the announcement, through all the newspapers of the county, and through all other sources of publicity, that the names of those who had sold their votes were known to Judge Blair and to the grand jury, and that indictments had been found against them. If, however, they were wise enough to come to West Union, the county seat, of their own free will and make confession to the judge,—thus saving the expense and trouble of serving papers and making arrests,—they would be treated with great leniency. It was a part of the scheme not to make known the information disclosed to the grand jury by the politicians, and not to make public the names of those against whom indictments had been found. It was desired that as many as possible might facilitate the movement of justice by making confession, and allowing themselves to be sentenced.

Such was the bold, simple project. Suffice it to say that it was as effective in practice as it was comprehensive in conception.

Judge Blair formed his special grand jury of fifteen citizens of Adams County, and operations began on the 13th of December. To show that no party advantage was sought, the grand jury consisted of seven Repub-



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THE YOUNGER MAN IS SHERIFF J. D. WILLIAMS, OF ADAMS COUNTY, AND  
THE OTHER IS HIS DEPUTY, CAPTAIN COOPER

licans, seven Democrats, and one Prohibitionist. A former Congressman, the Hon. L. J. Fenton, a man of intelligence and probity, was made foreman. In his charge to the grand jury, Judge Blair made a frank statement of the situation, the following paragraph being an example of his forcible, direct style:

Conservative leaders of both parties claim that the purchasable vote of Adams County is at least 2000, or more than one-third of the total vote. The young people of the county are growing up with full knowledge of this open traffic in votes and conditions are becoming intolerable. The purchase of votes with which this county has been cursed for years is so common that only a few men, comparatively speaking, are not identified with this merchandise of the ballot. I have been told that the grand jury would not dare indict any one for the purchase or sale of votes, but I believe you will do your duty. If it should develop that you do not bring indictments, then a condition of anarchy prevails in Adams county.

The grand jury took the judge at his word; all the politicians and precinct workers were gathered in; a local editor who wrote an article denouncing the investigation was sentenced to fine and imprisonment for contempt of court; and forthwith there was consternation throughout the 625 square miles of Adams County. Within a few days the indictment mill was grinding out true bills at the average rate of a hundred or more every day. The politicians gave the evidence, and the particular precinct or township under inquiry was duly warned. The judge was aided by a special prosecutor, Mr. W. P. Stephenson, whose efforts were assiduous, and by no means unnecessary. For



THIS MAN, WHO IS SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD, WALKED THROUGH THE SNOW FROM BENTONVILLE, TEN MILES DISTANT, TO SQUARE THINGS WITH JUDGE BLAIR

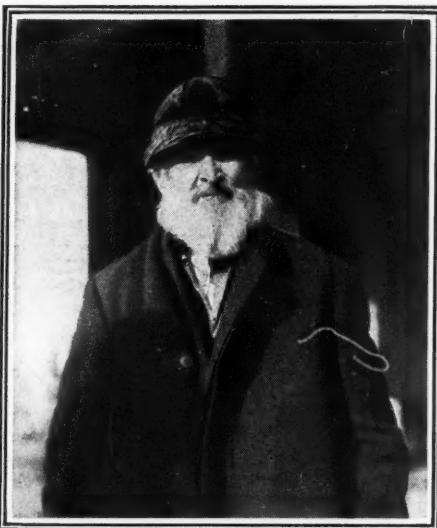
although a situation had been created which frightened the guilty, making them feel that if they did not confess they might be sent to prison, there still remained many points to be dealt with by a firm and resolute prosecutor who was in full sympathy with the judge. For it was not quite the uniform rule that the guilty confessed, and in a few instances there were jail sentences which were not remitted.

After the movement had fairly begun and some hundreds of indictments had been found, Judge Blair and Prosecutor Stephenson inserted the following notice in all the newspapers of Adams County:



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THE ADAMS COUNTY JAIL, IN TEMPORARY USE AS COURTHOUSE

We ask all citizens who have knowledge of any persons who received money at the last election and who are not coming in, or who know of any



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THIS VENERABLE FARMER, WHOSE FACE IS GIVEN AS A TYPE RATHER THAN FOR ANY PERSONAL REASONS, WAS HEAVILY FINED FOR HAVING DECEIVED JUDGE BLAIR AS TO HIS MEANS

person who bought votes and who has not been in court, or who has tried to shield any person who received money at the last election, to let the undersigned know at once. We will keep your name in strict confidence and you will greatly facilitate our work.

ALBION C. BLAIR, Judge.  
WILL P. STEPHENSON, Prosecutor.

As a result of these notices, the grand jury was busy on the first two days of the New Year, and by that time it had indicted exactly 1500 voters. It then adjourned for a few days to enable Judge Blair to catch up with his work of sentencing the hundreds who were pleading guilty. The Judge's method in dealing with these men was simple, colloquial, and informal. His manner and tone were kindly and often humorous. The culprit was generally asked to tell something of his family and his circumstances, as well as the facts about the vote-selling transaction; and the judge showed a rare talent for giving the needed word of good advice.

From the first, his practice was to impose a fine of \$25 at once, remitting all but \$5, then to pronounce a sentence of six months in the workhouse at Cincinnati (which was at once suspended in consideration of future good behavior), and finally to disfranchise the voter for five years, this part of the penalty being absolute.

The scenes and incidents of this notable movement have been both picturesque and

pathetic in an unusual degree. The county town is many miles from a railroad station. Octogenarians walked for miles over rough wintry roads to make their humiliating confessions. Women came from remote parts of the county to beg the court's leniency for bedridden husbands. The jail served for court purposes, the old courthouse having been destroyed by fire. A very few skinflint farmers of large means were found misleading the court as to their possessions, and were fined several hundred dollars by way of example.

Such details, illustrating every phase of human frailty and rustic character, do not belong to any permanent record of the work of ballot reform in Adams County,—although many of them will be cherished as illustrating the methods and the qualities of the remarkable personality who leads the movement. For there are traits of mind and character in Judge Blair that remind one of the patient and resolute country lawyer of Illinois who, fifty years ago, was President-elect and about to enter upon his great burden of national responsibility. Abraham Lincoln was much more interested in the



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THIS AGED WOMAN WALKED TWENTY MILES TO MAKE CONFESSION FOR HER HUSBAND, WHO WAS ILL IN BED, AND TO PRESENT HER SON, WHO HAD ALSO SOLD HIS VOTE

work he had to do than in the attainment of high place. If he had been the victim of personal ambition, he could not have been the man of strength and wisdom for the country's need. Judge Blair stands well in the opinion of the people of his judicial circuit. He has a great work to accomplish, and it is of high importance that this work be done thoroughly and completely. It will have been enough for any man to do in our generation. It is of small consequence, therefore, comparatively speaking, whether Judge Blair in future time be promoted to higher offices or not. It is his great distinction that in his local office he has seen real work to do,



A "BACK-TOWNSHIP" GROUP

(These four young men were so foolish as to refuse to make confession voluntarily, and they were accordingly arrested and sentenced to eight-months' terms in the workhouse at Cincinnati. After a few days in jail their sentences were suspended. The example of sending them to prison had a salutary effect upon hundreds of other young men in the county)

and that—in doing it because it was plain duty—he has been rendering his State and this entire country an immeasurable service.

Our representative, who went to West Union to see Judge Blair and to take the photographs which accompany this article, came back with the impression that the judge intended to apply a similar method of voting reform in the other counties of his circuit. When questioned on this point Judge Blair was naturally reticent. There were obvious reasons why he could not speak. But on January 14 he answered the question in the most practical way. He opened court at Portsmouth, on the Ohio River, in the county of Scioto, lying just east of Adams County,



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A TIFFIN TOWNSHIP MAN WHO RODE THIS HORSE A  
GOOD MANY MILES TO MAKE HIS CONFESSION  
AND RECEIVE SENTENCE

and promptly announced that he would institute in Scioto the same kind of an investigation that was still going on in Adams.

And he allowed it to be quite generally believed that the same method would be applied in Pike and Lawrence counties. Common rumor from those neighboring counties points to the serious prevalence of the practice of buying and selling votes, although we have no information that would permit even a guess as to the extent to which the practice has been carried on elsewhere than in Adams County. Assertions have been made that Judge Blair's method ought to be used by other common-pleas judges throughout the State of Ohio.

Heretofore, the talk about the wholesale buying of votes has been largely conjectural. In a number of instances entire boroughs have been disfranchised in England because a high percentage of venality had been discovered among the voters. But Judge Blair's proof that 2000 out of the 6000 voters of Adams County are accustomed to sell their votes, is the most definite piece of tangible information in that general field of discussion that we have ever obtained in the United States. To save the people of Ohio from the supposition that we are holding them up to the world's reproach or contempt, it is only fair to remind our readers that the rumors of wholesale vote-selling in parts of the State of New York and of the New England States have been for years very persistent and seldom denied.

An analysis of the recent election in the State of New York shows that the Democratic victory was not due to any increase

in the Democratic vote, which indeed was smaller than usual, but to an enormous falling off of the Republican vote in the rural counties. And the public ought to know that the politicians, among themselves, agree in attributing a great part of this falling off to the fact that the Republicans were without any funds this year to be distributed liberally among local workers, for use on election day in "getting out the vote." Generally the Republicans of the State of New York have had ample funds contributed to the "machine" by the great corporations and special interests. This year such money was withheld, and the Republican treasury was empty.

Undoubtedly there is a distinction between money used for getting out the vote, and money used to pay the voter for voting one ticket rather than the other. But the distinction is one which has a tendency in contested campaigns to become blurred. The New York farmer who says he is a Republican and will never vote the Democratic ticket,—but who also declares that he will not harness his horse and drive to town over bad roads to cast his vote on election day, unless somebody gives him five dollars or ten dollars,—may have learned to convince himself that he is not a bribe-taker. Yet his refusal to vote

unless paid, is equivalent to giving a half vote to the other party.

The methods of using money wholesale on election day throughout the East, if not clearly criminal under the law, are dangerously close to it. They destroy the independence and self-respect of the voter; and they so weaken his sense of duty and privilege as a citizen that it would not be a long stride for him to change his vote and to take money from the other party, when he has once learned to abstain from voting unless bribed by his own party.

Abstention from voting, unless a fairly good reason can be given, should subject the voter to some kind of penalty,—such, for example, as disability to vote at the next following election. And the acceptance of money in payment for the trouble of coming to the polls should be regarded as both morally disgraceful and legally culpable.

Adams County, therefore, no matter how low she may have fallen, has risen, unaided, in the strength of her own sense of rectitude, and now heads the list. In the Presidential election next year, the most decent lot of voters in the entire country will be those of Adams County, Ohio. For this rehabilitation, Adams County should accord great honor to Judge Blair.



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York  
THIS TYPICAL SCENE SHOWS A SENTENCED VOTER WHO HAS GONE FROM JUDGE BLAIR'S ROOM TO THE OFFICE OF THE COUNTY CLERK TO PAY HIS FIVE DOLLARS AND HAVE THE PROPER ENTRIES MADE REGARDING HIS SENTENCE.

# "THE KINGLY CHILDREN"—A FAIRY TALE IN MUSIC

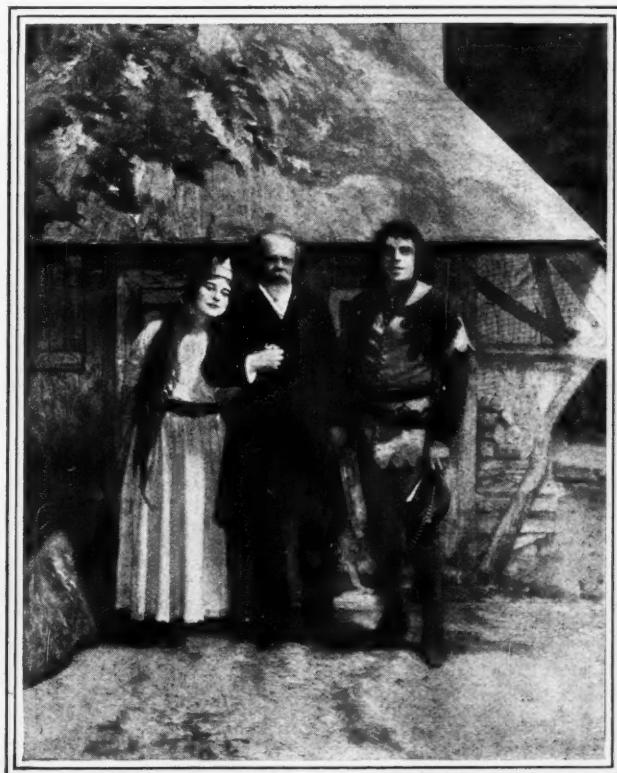
BY MONTROSE J. MOSES

THOSE who heard Humperdinck's "Die Kinder" are to be found. But before "Die Königskinder," when it was given its "Königskinder" was greeted at the Metropolitan première on any stage, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on December 28, high value had been accepted by children, 1910, went away with the impression that it was a version of some old fairy tale which had entered the nursery by way of Grimm and Andersen. But they were greatly mistaken, for it is to the credit of the librettist, "Ernst Rosmer," otherwise known as Frau Elsa Bernstein of Munich, that she has invented a charming story bearing all the features of folk-lore, but which is thoroughly original in its plot, however much of the "märchen" atmosphere it may contain.

"Die Königskinder" is not for children but about children; yet the outward pictures surely belong to their realm and the main structure of the plot is no more complicated than the average Grimm or Andersen tale.

We say that "Die Königskinder" was first given on any stage at the Metropolitan Opera House only a few weeks ago, but this statement may be modified. The score, as Humperdinck has written it, is an elaboration of lyrical passages, originally composed for a musical drama which, in America, was first given under Conried at the Irving Place Theater, with Agnes Sorma, during the season of 1898. In addition to this, Mr. Martin Harvey, when he last came to America with "The Only Way," brought with him also a version of "Kingly Children," which met with marked success both in New York and in London. Besides which, "Die Königskinder," while it has just been received here with éclat, has been some time in evolution.

There is a tendency at the present time to cater to the imagination of childhood through the medium of the stage. "Hänsel und Gretel" was welcomed as an excellent opera for young folk in a period of the theater when few entertainments of a fairy char-



DR. ENGLEBERT HUMPERDINCK, THE COMPOSER

(As he appeared last month with Miss Farrar and Mr. Jadlowker, at the first performance of "Die Königskinder")

The New Theater has just announced for production the poetic drama by Josephine Preston Peabody, entitled "The Piper" ("The Pied Piper of Hamelin"), which received the Stratford-on-Avon prize, and was played by Benson and his company shortly after the death of King Edward VII. In subtlety of psychology, this play would hardly be understood by the average boy or girl, but the main outlines of the story, *per se*, are easily comprehensible, and the pictures presented have undoubtedly appeal of their own. In other words, a pictorial drama, with a content beyond the understanding of childhood, may yet have interest for young people, and in this respect, "Die Königskinder" is just as suitable for them as Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird."

From the standpoint of the libretto, Herr Humperdinck was furnished with a charming theme,—one where much poetry might have been evolved by a dramatist of real merit. It is generally conceded that wherever Humperdinck's score fails of unity, of consistent motives, and of sustained melody, one is sure to find inconsistencies of plot, and the introduction of unessential details. The symbolism of the Goose-Girl, whose pedigree is as

filmy as that of Mélisande in "Pelléas and Mélisande," and the symbolism of the King's Son, are difficult to direct toward any high idea or satisfactory ideal as the goal. The humor of the townspeople, intent on finding some king to rule over them, is reminiscent of "Die Meistersinger"; it is the one aspect of the opera where it may be said that the librettist has arrived at distinctness; for the Fiddler, the Woodcutter, and the Broom-maker of Hellabrun are excellent characterizations.

The story, crudely Englished by Charles Henry Meltzer, narrates how a King's Son, seeking adventure, meets with a Goose-Girl who is under the spell of a Witch—a girl truly of the innocence of Miranda, for this is the first man she has seen. It so happens that in Hellabrun they desire a ruler, and the old Witch has prophesied that whoso enters the city gate at noon on the morrow shall have the throne. The King's Son, failing in his conquest of the Goose-Girl's love, leaves for Hellabrun, where the Council puts him to work as a swineherd, not recognizing his royal manner.

By the powers of a shooting star, the Goose-Girl is finally freed from the wiles of



THE CHILDREN BEG THE FIDDLER TO FIND THE MISSING ROYAL CHILDREN



THE GOOSE-GIRL (MISS GERALDINE FARRAR) AND HER GEESE

the Witch, in time to make haste to the city, defining to the folk of Hellabrun what a king just as the midday hour strikes. The gates roll back, revealing to an expectant group the little heroine surrounded by her flock of geese. Twice over the Metropolitan Opera House stage wandered these real live feathered actors, and to their credit may it be said that they behaved well, and were so much more real than the stage property used in "Lohengrin." The King's Son rushes to meet the Goose-Girl, just as the populace turn in anger and drive them forth, to wander in wintry woods, where, in a starving condition, they are given a poisoned cake of the old Witch's making. The two inconsequent and innocent lovers die, too soon to receive consternation and loyalty from a city which has been so cruelly unjust and so blind. The curtain descends as a procession of Hellabrun people, mostly children, bear the two away.

Such is the bare plot—not an uncommon one, and surely neither a startling nor a deep one. Yet it is thoroughly picturesque and full of romance and feeling. Its symbolism has no hidden intention, even though there is some sarcastic political meaning in the hero's

No attempt shall be made here to analyze Herr Humperdinck's score; its chief distinction is that it has melody and charm. But both inspiration and "uplift" need to be drawn from this story of "Kingly Children." The music, Mr. Henderson claims, is what the Germans call "all theme," some motives being more pronounced and more persistent than others—passages in character both narrative and descriptive. There is scope in this latter respect, for there are three scenes of pleasant simplicity and of mountain grandeur. In the cast, on its first production, "Die Königskinder" had Geraldine Farrar as the Goose-Girl; Hermann Jadlowker as the King's Son; Otto Goritz as the Fiddler; and Louise Homer as the Witch.

The story is told of Herr Humperdinck that once he walked miles to avoid spoiling some child's pleasure which depended on him. This genial and youthful responsiveness is what one feels throughout the new opera.

So much for the outward history of Humperdinck's new child opera. But there is something more, for the fancifulness of both



THE KING'S SON  
(Mr. Jadlowker)

"Hänsel und Gretel" and "Die Königskinder" is due very largely to the nature of the man behind them. Humperdinck was born in 1854 at Siegburg-on-Rhine, near Bonn. He went to Cologne at an early age, intent on the study of architecture, but, meeting with the great pianist, Hiller, his interest was turned to the study of music, his true *metier*. He attended the Cologne Conservatory, and in quick succession won the Mendelssohn (1878) and the Meyerbeer (1880) prizes. At the age of twenty-six, he became an intimate friend of the Wagner family, and naturally this closeness of association only served to identify him more and more with the school of the master. Yet to Humperdinck's credit it must be said that he has not risen above, so much as individualized himself away from, the charge of imitation. His music, as heard in "Hänsel und Gretel" and "Die Königskinder," sounds reminiscent of German folk song, but there are only a few real touches of historic significance in the score; the other melodies are due to his own genius and his own originality. Through atmospheric charm, he has added something original to what he learned from Wagner.

Nevertheless, his knowledge of the master earned for him the right to arrange the piano-forte edition of the music dramas, and likewise to assist in the preparation of "Parsifal." During this period of intimacy, he likewise gave lessons to Siegfried Wagner. The title

of Professor came to Humperdinck after a varied career as teacher. In 1885-86, he was at the Conservatorium Barcelona; during 1887-88 at Cologne; from 1890-96 at Frankfurt-on-Main, where he won the Mozart scholarship, serving also as concert meister at the opera, and as musical critic for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Since 1900, he has been in Berlin as member of the Academy of Fine Arts and as Professor of Composition.

During all this time, environment and temperament were guiding the taste of Englebert Humperdinck. First of all the Rhine country brought peace and joy and imaginative richness to the musician; then followed the practical experience gained by him while serving in the first Bayreuth festival; finally the fact that Wagner had turned to myth as his vehicle of expression, suggested the use of the popular legend which would afford a different technical form and more human musical motives. The great characteristics of Humperdinck are his humanity and his humor, which he found could best gain expression through the childlike unfolding of a story. It will be remembered that Ibsen was confronted with the same quandaries regarding the use of materials from the ballad or the saga, while writing his early dramas, typified in "The Vikings at Hegeland," "The Pretenders," and "Peer Gynt."

The artistic progression of the composer may be indicated rapidly. His first two pieces, "Das Glück von Edenhall" and "Die



THE WITCH  
(Mme. Louise Homer)

"Wallfahrt nach Kelvaar," passed by with slight notice, and not until "Hänsel und Gretel," with the libretto by his sister, Adelheid Wette, came to light at Weimar in 1893, did he suddenly find himself recognized. The opera had been composed modestly and slowly, and partly in the spirit of fun, for the children of Frau Wette. So much more was the surprise of success to Humperdinck.

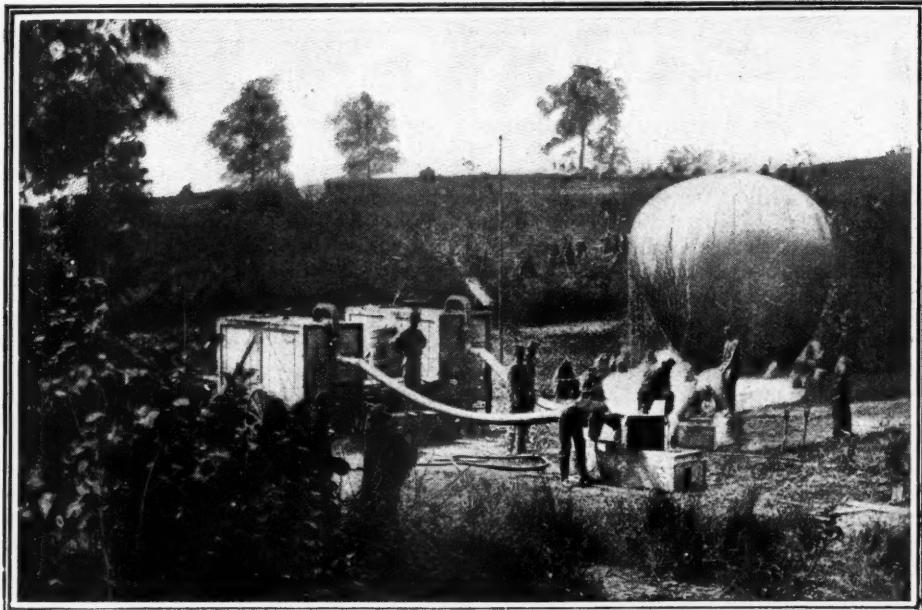
His imaginative tendency, his natural taste, his youthful heart, now had their way. Following "Hänsel und Gretel" in 1893, came "Dornröschen" (1895), "Die sieben Geislein" (1896), and "Die Königskinder" (1896)—all of them of fairy-tale character, exhibiting a lightness and grace that were measure of the spirit of the man. He is fond of young folk; his quickness of observation and his humor in conversation make him the most agreeable of company. He takes pleasure in gardens and in nature through all her phases, and he has love for animals. As a linguist he

is accomplished, and his chief recreations are of every new invention.

Such is the composer of "Die Königskinder." While working upon "Hänsel und Gretel," he lived in a small village where Fräulein Taxer dwelt—a lady who afterward became his wife. The success attendant upon his opera did not prompt him to thrust forward his earlier compositions, for the simple reason that, a fire breaking out in the attic of his father's house, the manuscripts were entirely destroyed. He therefore began with a success, and advanced to fresher and larger things. When the time arrived for "Die Königskinder," he was living at Boppard-on-Rhine, in a villa of pleasant situation. Here, silent but keen and genial, Humperdinck, in his study on the second floor, with windows commanding a far sweep of the river, and with a piano near his desk, began work on his new score.



DEATH OF THE KING'S SON AND THE GOOSE-GIRL



INFLATING THE BALLOON "INTREPID" TO RECONNOITER THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS, JUNE 1, 1862

(Professor Lowe stands at the right, with his hand on the network of the balloon. This and the three following pictures are reproduced from the REVIEW OF REVIEWS' collection of Civil War photographs)

## OBSERVATION BALLOONS IN THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS

BY T. S. C. LOWE

[The article which follows has a double interest to readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Its account of war ballooning half a century ago is sufficiently detailed to prove instructive to the many students of modern aéronautics. The unusual manner in which the contribution was obtained is also worthy of remark. Professor Lowe wrote to the magazine after discovering himself and his balloon represented in a picture from the REVIEW OF REVIEWS' collection of Civil War photographs. This collection, numbering several thousand photographs, all taken between 1861 and 1865, was accumulated for the purpose of illustrating "The Photographic History of the Civil War," a ten-volume work now in preparation. In connection with its publication a series of articles will appear in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS during 1911, commemorative of the semi-centennial anniversary of the Civil War outbreak. Professor Lowe's present contribution thus serves as an introduction to the series of articles, which will begin in the March number, and will not only include the reminiscences and narratives of surviving participants of this greatest of civil conflicts, but also the conclusions of modern military scientists with regard to the strategy and conduct of the war. Mr. George Haven Putnam, Admiral French E. Chadwick, Gen. T. F. Rodenbough, Gen. Charles King, Gen. A. W. Greely, and other former Union soldiers, will contribute, as well as several who participated on the Confederate side.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN I saw the photograph showing my to completing the inflation from gas in the inflation of the balloon *Intrepid* to reconnoiter the Battle of Fair Oaks—a photograph that constitutes one of the illustrations in "The Photographic History of the Civil War"—it surprised me very indeed.

Any one examining the picture will see my hand at the extreme right, resting on the net-work, where I was measuring the amount of gas already in the balloon, preparatory

smaller balloon in order that I might ascend to a greater height. This I did within a space of five minutes, saving a whole hour at the most vital point of the battle. With the conditions then existing, I estimate the value of

that hour to the Union army at not less than a million dollars a minute.

A volume of my reminiscences, in press at the time of writing, deals with this early epi-



PROFESSOR LOWE ASCENDING WITH HIS BALLOON "INTREPID" TO RECONNOITER THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS

sode in the history of war balloons more in detail. Four weeks before, midnight observations with one of my war balloons had enabled me to discover that the fortifications of Yorktown (before which McClellan's advance toward Richmond had halted) were being evacuated. After full confirmation of the fact, I aroused the commanding general and other quietly sleeping corps commanders in time to put the whole army in motion, in the very early hours of the morning, which enabled us to overtake the Confederate army at Williamsburg, about half way between Yorktown and Richmond.

#### FROM WILLIAMSBURG TO RICHMOND

Without the time and knowledge gained by the midnight observations, the battle of Williamsburg might never have taken place, and the Confederates might have gotten away with all their stores and ammunition without injury.

It was also my practice of night observations which gave the primary knowledge that saved the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Fair Oaks.

On arriving in sight of Richmond I took observations to ascertain the best location for crossing the Chickahominy River. The

one selected was where the Grape Vine or Sumner Bridge was afterward built across that stream. Mechanicsville was the nearest point to Richmond, being only about four miles away, but there we would have to face the gathering army of the Confederacy, together with the only point properly fortified with trenches and earth works. Here I established one of my aëronautic stations, where I could better estimate the increase of the Confederate Army, and observe their various movements.

#### ON THE CHICKAHOMINY

My main station and personal camp was on Gaines' Hill, overlooking the bridge where our army was to cross.

After this bridge was completed, about half of our army crossed over on the Richmond side of the river. The remainder delayed a while to protect our transportation supplies and railway facilities. In the meantime the Confederate camp in and about Richmond grew larger every day. Suddenly a heavy rain caused the Chickahominy to resemble a lake, rather than a small stream. This completely cut off the supplies to General Heintzelman's command. The water flowed deeply at both ends of the bridge, which under great difficul-

ties must be lengthened before the balance of our army or supplies could cross over.

General Lee saw the fix that we were in. He immediately took advantage of it by calling on Jackson and his command, and every other source from which soldiers could be gathered.

General McClellan made a request for a portion of the good-sized army at Washington to guard his supply trains. The remainder of the army was to join Heintzelman as quickly as the extension of the bridge could be completed. He was led to believe that this reasonable request would be acceded to. He asked me to take frequent observations in that direction and to let him know as soon as I spied reinforcements coming.

My report that no reinforcements were in sight was a great disappointment to the General. To join that portion of the army that had already crossed would uncover his source of supplies, and leave him quite isolated should he not be able to capture the city of Richmond, the defenses of which were fast being strengthened.

My night and day observations convinced me that, with the great army then assembled in and about Richmond, we were too late to gain the victory which a short time before had been within our grasp.

#### CONFEDERATE ATTACK ON A BALLOON

In the meantime, desperate efforts were being made at Mechanicsville to destroy my observation balloon. At one point the

Confederates massed twelve of their best rifled cannon. While I was taking an early morning observation, all these twelve guns were simultaneously discharged at short range. Some of the shells passed through the rigging of the balloon. Nearly all burst not more than 200 feet beyond me. Evidently, through spies, they had got my base of operation and range perfectly.

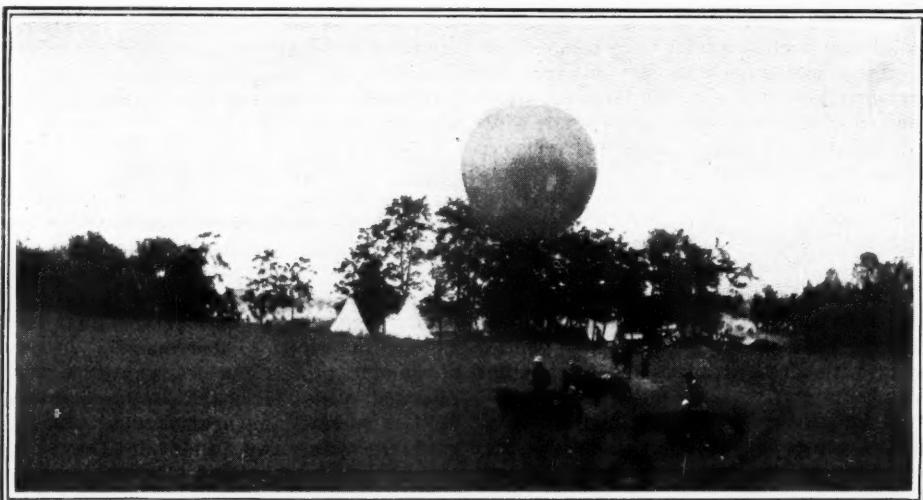
I quickly changed my base after that, and they never again came so near destroying the balloon—and myself.

#### DISCOVERING A CONFEDERATE ADVANCE FROM RICHMOND

I felt that it was important to take thorough observations of their camps that very night, at that point. I did so. I saw the great camps about Richmond ablaze with camp fires. From previous experience I realized what this meant. The Confederate troops were cooking rations preparatory to a movement. I knew that this must be aimed against that portion of the army then across the river.

At daylight the next morning (June 1st) I took another observation, continuing until the sun lighted up the roads. The atmosphere was perfectly clear. I knew exactly where to look for their line of march. I soon discovered one, then two, and finally three columns of troops, with artillery and ammunition wagons, moving toward Heintzelman's command.

All this information was conveyed to the



THE BALLOON "CONSTITUTION" IN USE BY PROFESSOR LOWE DURING THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS

(This was the smaller of the balloons employed by Professor Lowe in his observation work. During the battle its lifting power proved insufficient and its gas was transferred to the larger balloon *Intrepid*)



PROFESSOR LOWE (IN CENTER) COMPLETING A DISPATCH AT THE BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS, JUST BEFORE ASCENDING WITH TELEGRAPH APPARATUS AND WIRE

Commanding General. I was surprised and gratified at the rapidity with which he added a great force to the work on both ends of the bridge.

#### TRANSFERRING GAS FROM ONE BALLOON TO ANOTHER

I operated the balloon *Washington* at Mechanicsville for observations until the Confederate army had reached within four or five miles of our lines. I then telegraphed my assistants to inflate the large balloon *Intrepid*, in case anything should happen to either of the other two balloons. This order was quickly put in motion. A six-mile ride on horse brought me back to my camp at Gaines' Hill. I took another observation from the balloon *Constitution*, but found it necessary to double the altitude usually sufficient in order to overlook the forests and hills intervening.

To carry up my telegraph apparatus wires and cables at this double height, the lifting force of the *Constitution* proved too weak. I was put to my wits' end as to how I could best save an hour's time, which was the most important and precious hour of all my experiences in the army. The two armies visibly came nearer and nearer together. There was no time to be lost.

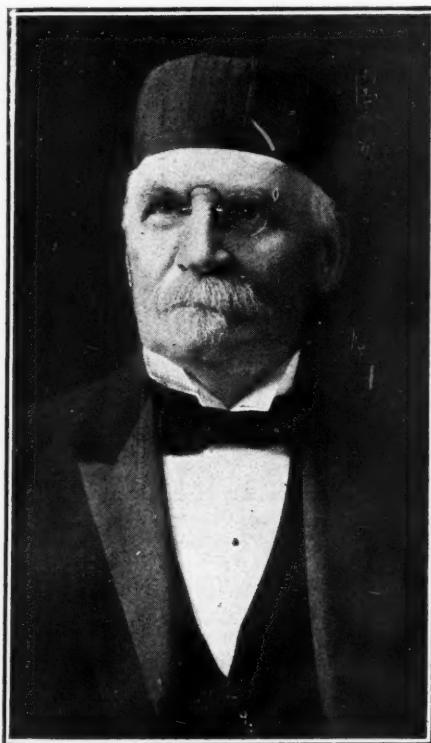
It flashed through my mind that if I could only transfer the gas from the smaller balloon *Constitution* into the balloon *Intrepid*, then only half filled, I could save an hour's time, and to us that hour's time would be worth a million dollars a minute.

But how to rig up the proper connection between the balloons? And in the little time remaining? I was at a loss—until I glanced down and saw a ten-inch camp kettle, which instantly gave me the key to the situation. I immediately ordered the bottom cut out of the camp kettle, the *Intrepid* disconnected from the gas generating apparatus, the *Constitution* brought down the hill—and, in the course of five or six minutes, connection was made to both balloons, and the gas in the *Constitution* transferred into that of the *Intrepid*. This one simple act, in my opinion, saved the Union army from destruction.

#### TELEGRAPHING FROM THE SKY

I immediately took a high altitude observation as rapidly as possible, wrote my most important despatch to the Commanding General on my way down, dictated it to my expert telegraph operator; then, with the telegraph cable and instruments, ascended to the height desired, and remained there almost constantly during the entire battle, keeping the wires hot with information.

The Confederate skirmish line soon came in contact with our outposts. I perceived the whole well-laid plan. They had massed the bulk of their artillery and troops on our right wing, then resting near the Chickahominy River, not only with the intention of cutting off our ammunition supplies, but to prevent the main portion of the army from crossing the bridge to join Heintzelman. In the meantime they had planned a raid to cut



PROFESSOR T. S. C. LOWE

off our supplies from the north, which that portion of the army, not yet over the river, for the time being prevented.

As I reported the movements of the Confederates, I could see that, in a very few minutes, the Union troops were maneuvering to offset their plans.

#### THE FIGHTING AT FAIR OAKS

At about twelve o'clock of June 1 both armies were in deadly conflict along the whole line. Our army not only held its line firmly, but repulsed the enemy at all its weaker points.

In the meantime many brigades and regiments had entirely exhausted their ammunition. Brave Heintzelman rode along the line giving orders for the men to shout. Then I could hear the shouts distinctly—but they

did not spring with the heartiness that was hoped for; a soldier with an empty cartridge box does not feel much like shouting.

#### CROSSING THE RIVER

It was one of the greatest strains upon my nerves that I have ever experienced, to observe for many hours an almost drawn battle, while the bridge to connect the two armies still lacked completion. By four o'clock, however, our first troops under Sumner's command were able to cross, followed by wagons of ammunition.

As these troops swung in line I could hear a real shout, which sounded entirely different from the former one.

The Confederates then began to prepare a retreat. Their wagons were turned toward Richmond and the fighting force kept intact until after nightfall, leaving us the victors. For the want of the reinforcements requested, we were in no position to follow them over their earth works into Richmond.

We had saved the army, which on the following day began its masterly fighting retreat to the James River.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Appended is a quotation from the Confederate General Longstreet's reminiscences, describing Professor Lowe's ballooning as it appeared to the men in gray. It is remarkable that Professor Lowe himself assisted in the capture of the Confederate balloon. General Longstreet writes: "It may be of interest to relate an incident which illustrates the pinched condition of the Confederacy even as early as 1862.

"The Federals had been using balloons in examining our positions, and we watched with envious eyes their beautiful observations as they floated high up in the air, well out of range of our guns. While we were longing for the balloons that poverty denied us, a genius arose for the occasion and suggested that we send out and gather silk dresses in the Confederacy and make a balloon.

"It was done, and soon we had a great patch-work ship of many and varied hues which was ready for use in the Seven Days' campaign.

"We had no gas except in Richmond, and it was the custom to inflate the balloon there, tie it securely to an engine, and run it down the York River Railroad to any point at which we desired to send it up. One day it was on a steamer down the James River when the tide went out and left vessel and balloon high and dry on a bar. The Federals gathered it in, and with it the last silk dress in the Confederacy. This capture was the meanest trick of the war and one I have never yet forgiven."]



# CHINA: AWAKE AND AT WORK

WHAT A LEADER OF THE NEW SOUTH SEES IN THE FAR EAST

BY CLARENCE POE

[Mr. Poe is the editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, of Raleigh, N. C. He is investigating conditions in the Far East, and in the preparation of this article he has been aided by some eminent authorities in the Chinese Empire—Chinese, English, and American. The article was written at Peking.—THE EDITOR]

WITHIN eighteen months China will have a parliament or a revolution (she may have both). Such at least is the prediction I am willing to risk, and it is one which I believe most foreigners in Peking would endorse. And the coming of a parliament, popular government, to guide the destinies of the vast empire over which the Son of Heaven has reigned supreme for more than four thousand years—this is only one chapter in the whole marvelous story, not of China Awakening, but of China Awake. For the breaking with tradition, the acceptance of modern ideas, which but yesterday was a matter of question, is now a matter of history. "China Breaking Up" was the keynote of everything written about the Middle Kingdom ten years ago; "China Waking Up" has been the keynote of everything treating of it these last five years. Now one phrase is almost as

obsolete as the other. The breaking-up didn't happen; the waking-up has already happened.

Sir John Jordan, British Minister to China, does not exaggerate when he declares that in a European sense China has made greater progress these last ten years than in the preceding ten centuries. The criticism one hears most often now is, not that the popular leaders are too conservative, but that they are, if anything, too radical; are moving, not too slowly, but too rapidly.

Instead of the old charge that China is unwilling to learn what the West has to teach, I now hear foreigners complain that a little contact with Europe and America gives a leader undue influence. "Let an official take a trip abroad and for six months after his return he is the most respected authority in the empire." Instead of English missionaries worrying over China's slavery to the opium habit, we now have English officials embarrassed because China's too rapid breaking loose from opium threatens heavy deficits in Indian revenues. Instead of the old extreme "States' Rights" attitude on the part of the provinces, as illustrated by the refusal of the others to aid Manchuria and Chihli in the war with Japan, the beginnings of an intense nationalism are now very clearly in evidence.

Even Confucius no longer looks backward. A young friend of mine who is a descendant of

MR. CLARENCE POE



the Sage (of the seventy-fifth generation) speaks English fluently and is getting a thoroughly modern education, while Duke Kung, who inherits the title in the Confucian line, is patron of a government school which gives especial attention to English and other modern branches—by his direction. Significant, too, is the fact that the ancient examination halls in Peking to which students have come from all parts of the empire, the most learned classical scholars among them re-

warded with the highest offices, have now manageable delegations waited upon viceroys been torn down, and where these buildings once stood Chinese masons and carpenters are fashioning the building that is to house China's first national parliament—unless the parliament comes before this building can be made ready.

And so it goes. When a man wakes up, he does not wake up in a part of his body only, he wakes up all over. So it seems with Cathay. The more serious problem now is not to get her moving, but to keep her from moving too rapidly. In his Civic Forum address in New York three years ago, Wu Ting Fang quoted Wen Hsiang's saying, "When China wakes up, she will move like an avalanche." A movement with the power of an avalanche needs very careful guidance.

#### THE COMING NATIONAL PARLIAMENT

The one question about which every Chinese reformer's heart is now aflame is that of an early parliament. By the Imperial Decree of 1908 a parliament and a constitution were promised within nine years. At that time there was little demand for a parliament, but with the organization of the Provincial Assemblies in the fall of 1909 the people were given an opportunity to confer together and were also given a taste of power. For the first time, too, they seem to have realized suddenly the serious plight of the empire and the fact that since the deaths of the late Emperor and Empress Dowager and the dismissal of Yuan Shih-Kai by the Prince Regent acting for the infant Emperor, the Peking government is without a strong leader. Consequently the demand for a hastened parliament has grown too powerful to be resisted. True, when the delegates from all the Provincial Assemblies voiced this demand to the Prince Regent last spring, his reply was the Edict of May 29, declaring that the program outlined by their late Majesties, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, could not be changed. Furthermore, the Throne remarked significantly: "Let no more petitions or memorials upon this subject be presented to Us; Our mind is made up."

Unfortunately for the peace of the Regent, however, John Chinaman is absurdly and obnoxiously persistent on occasion. If you will not heed other appeals, he may commit suicide on your doorstep, and then you are bewitched for the rest of your days, to say nothing of your nights. The talk of an earlier parliament would not down even at the bidding of the Dragon Throne. Quietly un-

dered with the highest offices, have now manageable delegations waited upon viceroys and compelled these high officials to petition for a reopening of the question. Down in Kiang Su a scholar cut off his left arm and with the red blood wrote his appeal. In Union Medical Hospital, here in Peking, as I write this, a group of students are recovering from self-inflicted wounds made in the same cause. Going to the Prince Regent's, they were told that the Prince could not see them. "Very well," they declared, "we shall sit here till he does." At length the Prince sent word that, though he could not receive them, he would consider their petition, and the students then sliced the living flesh from their arms and thighs as evidence of their earnestness, coloring their petition with their blood.

At this period of our drama there came upon the stage a new actor, at first little heeded, but quickly becoming the dominating figure—the Tzucheng Yuan, or National Assembly. This body, consisting of 100 nobles and men of wealth or scholarship appointed by the Throne, and 100 selected members of Provincial Assemblies approved by the viceroys, was expected to prove a mere echo of the royal wishes. "It is evident that the government is to have a docile and submissive assembly. Mediocrity is the chief characteristic of the members chosen." So wrote one of the best informed Americans in China, some weeks before it assembled, October 3. Even the Reuter's press agent in Peking predicted through his papers that a few pious resolutions would represent the sum total of the Assembly's labors.

And yet the first day that these two gentlemen went with me to look in on the Assembly, we found it coolly demanding that the Grand Council, or imperial cabinet, be summoned before it to explain an alleged breach of the rights of Provincial Assemblies!

From the very beginning the course of this National Assembly in steadily gathering unexpected power to itself has reminded me of the old States-General in France in the days just before the Revolution, and I could not help looking for Danton and Robespierre among the fiery orators in gown and queue on this occasion. Significantly, too, I now hear on the authority of an eminent scholar that Carlyle's great masterpiece is the most popular work of historical literature ever translated into Chinese. May it teach them some lessons of restraint as well as aggressiveness!

Be that as it may, the Assembly has proved untamable in its demands for an early parliament, not even the hundred government members standing up against the imperious



Photograph by Underwood &amp; Underwood, N. Y.

## BURNING OPIUM PIPES IN MODERN CHINA

(An incident of the anti-opium crusade)

pressure of public opinion. In late October the Assembly unanimously petitioned the Throne to hasten the program of constitutional government. The day this petition was presented it was currently rumored in Peking that unless the Prince Regent should yield the people would refuse to pay taxes. But he yielded. The trouble now is that he did not yield enough to satisfy the public, and there is every indication that he will have to yield again, in spite of the alleged unalterableness of the present plan which allows a parliament in 1913 instead of in 1916, as originally promised. A parliament within eighteen months seems a safe prediction as I write this.

It also seems safe to prophesy that the powers of the parliament will be wisely used. In local affairs the Chinese practically established the rule of the people centuries before any European nation adopted the idea. Nominally, the local magistrate has had almost arbitrary power, but practically the control has been in the hands of the village elders. When they have met and decided on a policy, the magistrate has not dared run counter to it. In much the same fashion, governors and viceroys of provinces have been controlled and kept in check. Thus centuries of practical self-government in local affairs have

given the Chinese excellent preparation for the new departure in national affairs. What is proposed is not a new power for the people but only an enlargement or extension of powers they already exercise.

## THE SUCCESSFUL WAR AGAINST OPIUM

Parliamentary government is the one great accomplishment the Chinese people are now interested in, because they propose to make it the tool with which to work out the other Herculean tasks that await them. Happy are they in that they may set about these tasks inspired by the self-confidence begotten of one of the greatest moral achievements of modern times. I refer, of course, to the almost marvelous success of their anti-opium crusade.

It has been only five years, I believe, since Mr. Alleyne Ireland in his book, "The Far Eastern Tropics," declared: "If 300 years of contact with the Chinese has taught one lesson more thoroughly than another, it is that no legislation, no measures of repression, however severe, can turn the Chinaman from opium smoking and gambling." For expressing such an opinion at that time no criticism whatever can be made of Mr. Ireland. All the wise men of the earth said the same thing.

Moreover, when the Edict of 1906 came out declaring a ten years' war against opium, all well-informed people regarded it as a joke. Many of the officials entrusted with the duty of enforcing the edict also thought it would prove a farce. But when high dignitaries began to lose their official heads for failing to rid themselves of the habit, and other high officials for failure to prosecute the crusade whole-heartedly, their ideas changed. In many provinces now not a poppy seed sprouts from year's end to year's end, and a member of the Grand Council tells me that 95 per cent. of the officials who were formerly opium smokers have quit, while the other 5 per cent. indulge only in secret, the Damocles sword of removal hanging ever above their heads as the penalty of discovery. Let an official be caught, and very soon thereafter you will read in the *Official Gazette* some such notice as the following:

The Viceroy of Chihli, Chen Kuichung, and the Deputy Lieutenant-General of Shanghai Kwan, Ju Linhai, have presented a joint memorial recommending that Expectant District Police-Master Wan Li-hsun, who has failed to rid himself of the opium habit, be cashiered and never allowed to reenter the public service.

The reform among officials, however, the cashiering of the unrepentant smokers, and the fact that right here in Peking two or three officials died as a result of quitting the habit too suddenly, do not afford the best illustration of the earnestness with which China has prosecuted what was planned as a ten years' war, but may now prove only a five or six years' war if England is but willing to give the empire the right to prohibit opium importations. The greatest sacrifices have been made by the farmers. Dr. C. D. Tenney, of the American Legation, is my authority for the statement that in the provinces of Shansi and Yunnan land values in some cases have decreased as much as 75 per cent. by reason of the farmers having to stop poppy culture. On these particular lands other crops are only one-fourth as profitable. Mortgages made on the basis of old land values have been foreclosed; owning peasants have had to sacrifice their ancestral homes, but China has thought no price too great to pay in her effort to free her people from their ancient curse.

Mr. Frederick Ward, who has just returned from a visit to many provinces, finding in all the same surprising success in enforcing anti-opium regulations, declares: "It is the miracle of the Middle Kingdom and a lesson for the world." Not without reason did His Ex-

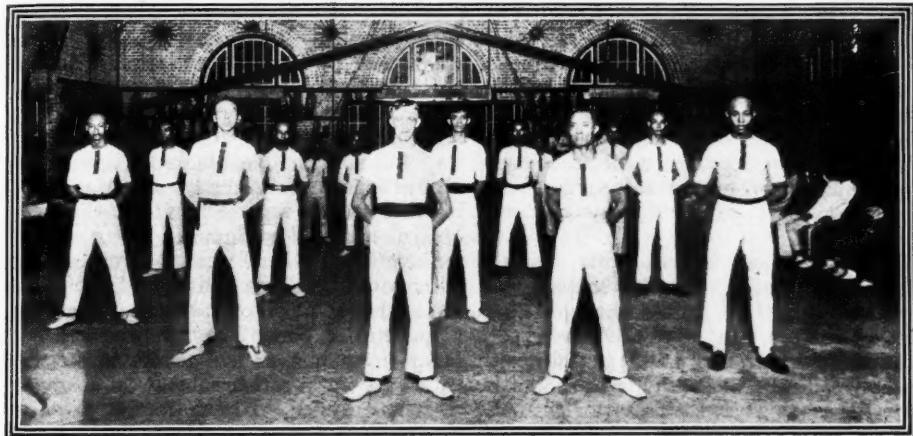
cellency Tang Shao-ji, Director of Posts and Communications, declare to me: "Let America try to stop drinking among 100,000,000 people, and she will then understand China's stupendous achievement in stopping opium-smoking among four times that number."

#### CHINA'S RIGHT-ABOUT-FACE IN EDUCATION

China's next great task is the education of her people, and the remedy for pessimism here is to compare her present condition, not with that of other nations, but with her own condition ten years ago. A reported school attendance of less than one million (780,325 to be exact) in a population of 400,000,000 does not look encouraging, but when we compare these figures with the statistics of attendance a few years ago, there is unmistakable evidence of progress. In the metropolitan province of Chihli, for example, I have found there are now more teachers in government schools than there were pupils six years ago, and the total attendance has grown from 8,000 to 214,637!

Even, if China had not established a single additional school, however, or increased the school attendance by even a percentage fraction, her educational progress these last ten years would yet be monumental. For as different as the East is from the West, so different, in literal fact, are her educational ideals at the present time as compared with her educational ideals a decade ago. At one fell blow (by the Edict of 1905) the old exclusively classical and literary system of education was swept away, made sacred though it was by the traditions of unnumbered centuries. Unfortunately the work of putting the new policies into effect was entrusted to the slow and bungling hands of the old literati; but this was a necessary stroke of policy, for without their support the new movement would have been hopelessly balked.

The old education taught nothing of science, nothing of history or geography outside of China, nothing of mathematics in its higher branches. Its main object was to enable the scholar to write a learned essay or a faultless poem, its main use to enable him by these means to get office. Under the old system the Chinese boy learned a thousand characters before he learned their meaning; after this he took up a book containing a list of all the surnames in the empire and the "Tri-metrical Classics," consisting of proverbs, and historical statements with each sentence in three characters. Now he is taught in much the same way as the Western boy. The old



Photograph by Underwood &amp; Underwood, N. Y.

## YOUNG CHINESE ATHLETES OF THE NEW RÉGIME, WITH THEIR WESTERN TEACHER

training developed the powers of memory; the new training, the powers of reasoning. The old education enabled the pupil to frame exquisite sentences; the new gives him a working knowledge of the world. The old looked inward to China and backward to her past; the new looks outward to other countries and forward to China's future. The old was meant to develop a few scholarly officials; the new, to develop many useful citizens. "Even our students who go abroad," as a Peking official said to me, "illustrate the new tendencies. Formerly they preferred to study law or politics; now they take up engineering or mining."

A consideration of Chinese education, however brief, would not be fair without mention of the crushing handicap under which her people labor and must always labor so long as the language remains as it is to-day—without an alphabet, a separate and arbitrary character to be learned for each and every word in the language. This means an absolute waste of at least five years in the pupil's school life, except in so far as memorizing the characters counts as memory-training, and five years make up the bulk of the average student's school days in any country. If it were not for this handicap and the serious difficulty of finding teachers enough for present needs, it would be impossible to set limits to the educational advance of the next twenty years.

The school and the teacher have always been held in the highest esteem in China. Her only aristocracy has been an aristocracy, not of wealth, but of scholarship; her romance has been, not that of the poor boy who became rich, but of the poor boy who found a way to get an education and become distin-

guished in public service. Under the old system, if the son of a hard-working family became noted for aptness in the village school, if the schoolmaster marked him for a boy of unusual promise, the rest of the family, with a devotion beautiful to see, would sacrifice their own pleasure for his advancement. He would be put into long robes and allowed to give himself up wholly to learning, while parents, brothers and sisters found inspiration for their own harder labors in the thought of the bright future that awaited him. The difficulty is that education has been regarded as the privilege of a gifted few, not as the right of all. In a land where scholarship has been held in such high favor, however, once let the school doors open to everybody and there is little doubt that China will eventually acquire the strength more essential than armies or battleships: the power which only an educated common people can give.

## BUILDING UP AN ARMY

China's next great purpose is to develop an efficient army. "Might is right" is the English proverb that I have found more often on the tongues of the new school of Chinese than any other; and we must confess that other nations seem to have tried hard enough to accept the principle. In the old days there was a saying, "Better have no son than one who is a soldier." To-day its new foreign-drilled army of 150,000 to 200,000 men is the boast of the Middle Kingdom, and the army is said to be the most honestly administered department of the government. In sharp contrast to the old contempt for the soldier, I now find one of the ablest journals in the

empire (*the Shanghai National Review*) protesting that interest in military training is now becoming too intense: "Scarce a school of any pretensions but has its military drill, extending in some instances as far as equipment with modern rifles and regular range practice, and we regret to notice that some of the mission schools have so far forgotten themselves as to pander to this militarist spirit."

It has often been said, of course, that the Chinese will not make good soldiers, but whether this has been proved is open to question. Certainly, in view of their wretchedly inferior equipment, their failure to distinguish themselves in the war with Japan cannot be regarded as conclusive. Take, for example, this description by an eye witness: "Every tenth man (among the Chinese soldiers) had a great silk banner, but few were armed with modern weapons. Those who had rifles and modern weapons at all had them of all makes; so cartridges of twenty different sorts and sizes were huddled together without any attempt at classification, and in one open space all sorts were heaped on the ground, and the soldiers were fitting them to their arms, sometimes trying eight or ten before finding one to fit the weapon, throwing the rejected ones back in the heap." No sort of efficiency on the part of the rank and file could have atoned for such criminal indifference to equipment on the part of the officers. It seems to be the opinion of the military authorities with whom I have talked that the Chinese army is now better manned than officered. "Wherever there has been a breach of discipline, I have found it the officer's fault," an American soldier told me.

The annexation of Korea, once China's vassal, by Japan and that country's steadily tightening grip on Manchuria have doubtless quickened China's desire for military strength. Moreover, she wishes to grow strong enough to denounce the treaties by which opium is even now forced upon her against her will, and by which she is forced to keep her tariff duty on foreign goods averaging 5 per cent., alike on luxuries and necessities.

#### ATTACKING THE GRAFT SYSTEM

The fifth among China's herculean labors is the cleansing of her Augean stables, and by this I can mean nothing else than the abolition of the system of "squeeze," or graft, on the part of her officials. In fact, no other reform can be complete until this is accomplished. The bulk of every officer's receipts

comes not from his salary, which is as a rule absurdly small, but from "squeezes"—fees which every man who has dealings with him must pay. In most cases, of course, these fees have been determined in a general way by long usage, but their acceptance opens the way for innumerable abuses. High offices are auctioned off. When I was in Manchuria it was currently reported that the Governor of Kirin had paid one hundred thousand taels for his office. When I was in Newchwang the Viceroy of Manchuria had just enriched himself to the extent of several thousand taels by a visit to that port: The men who had had favors from him or had favors to ask left "presents" of a rather substantial character when they called. I learn from an excellent authority that when an electric lighting contract was let for Hankow, or its suburbs, a short time ago, the officials provided a squeeze for themselves of 10 per cent. but that the Nanking officials, in arranging for electric lights there, didn't even seem to care whether the plant worked at all or not: they were anxious only to make a contract which would net them 35 per cent. of the gross amount! Under such circumstances it is not surprising to learn that many an office involving the handling of government revenues has its price as definitely known as the price of stocks or bonds.

In private business the Chinese have a reputation for honesty which almost any other nation might envy. With their quickened spirit of patriotism they will doubtless see to it that their public business is relieved of the shameless disgrace that now attaches to it.

#### MAKING OVER THE COUNTRY'S CURRENCY

The reform of the currency is another vastly important matter to which only a few words can be given here. It is intimately connected with the system of "squeeze" because it is the custom of Chinese officials to profit largely by the manipulation of exchange both in receiving and disbursing moneys. This, however, is only one of a hundred evils for which the chaotic condition of China's momentary affairs is responsible.

There is no national currency. Each province coins its own money. Banks have issued notes at will. Wild-cat corporations for a time had the same privilege. There is a nominal unit of values—the silver tael, or ounce—but even the taels vary in weight and fineness, so that taels of eight different kinds and values are used in financial reckonings in

Peking! When you have grasped the significance of this fact, however, coupled with the fact that the actual value of each tael varies from day to day with the fluctuations in the price of silver, you are only at the beginning of the confusion worse confounded. The actual currency of the country is not taels and fractions of taels, but dollars and cents (silver standard values) and copper "cash." Now as the silver 20-cent pieces in common circulation do not contain quite one-fifth as much silver as the dollar pieces in common circulation, nor the 5 and 10-cent pieces quite one-twentieth and one-tenth respectively, it takes 110 cents or more "small coin" to equal 100 cents of the large coinage. Then the copper cent is worth not quite so much as a silver cent, so it takes 11 cents, or more, of copper to equal 10 cents silver. And lastly the copper "cash" is also of variable value with reference to every other form of currency, though usually worth about a tenth of a cent.

Under such circumstances it is plain that there must be innumerable occasions when money of one kind must be changed into money of another kind, and each time some of the coin sticks to the money changer's fingers as a more or less legitimate exchange commission. Each time, too, the bank goes through the imaginary process of converting a tael of one kind into the particular kind of tael it recognizes, exchange must be paid. Moreover, exchange deducted, and then converted into whatever form of local currency is wanted, and another exchange fee sliced off. A bank will even discount bills issued by another branch of the same corporation. Go to the Hankow branch of the Russian Asiatic Bank, for example, with a \$5 note issued by the Peking branch, and you get \$4.80 for it. Other banks have the same policy.

I should certainly be unwilling to concede the fact of China's awakening if she were not setting about a reform of so absurd a system—or lack of system. And in cleaning house, she might as well make a thorough job of it by putting the gold standard into effect as early as possible.

#### RAILROADS, POSTS, AND TELEGRAPHS

These are some of the big new tasks to which awakened China is addressing herself. Of course, the continued development of her railways is no less important than any other matter I have mentioned, but railway building cannot be regarded as one of China's really new tasks. For years she has been alive

to the importance of uniting the people of the different provinces by means of more railways, more telegraph lines, and better postal service. The increase in number of pieces of mail handled from 20,000,000 pieces in 1902 to 366,000,000 in the last fiscal year, bears eloquent testimony alike to the progress of the post office and to the growing intelligence of the people. By telegraph the people of remotest Cathay now make their wishes known to the Son of Heaven and the Tzucheng Yuan; it was by telephone that this Tzucheng Yuan, or National Assembly, requested the Grand Council of the Dragon Empire to appear before it on the day of my first visit. The slow and stately camel caravans still come down from Mongolia to Peking—I have seen them wind their serpentine length through the gates of the Great Wall at Nankou as they have been doing for centuries past—but no longer do they bring the latest news from the tribes about Desert Gobi. Across 3,500 miles of its barren wastes an undaunted telegraph line now "hums the songs of the glad parts of the earth."

#### AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

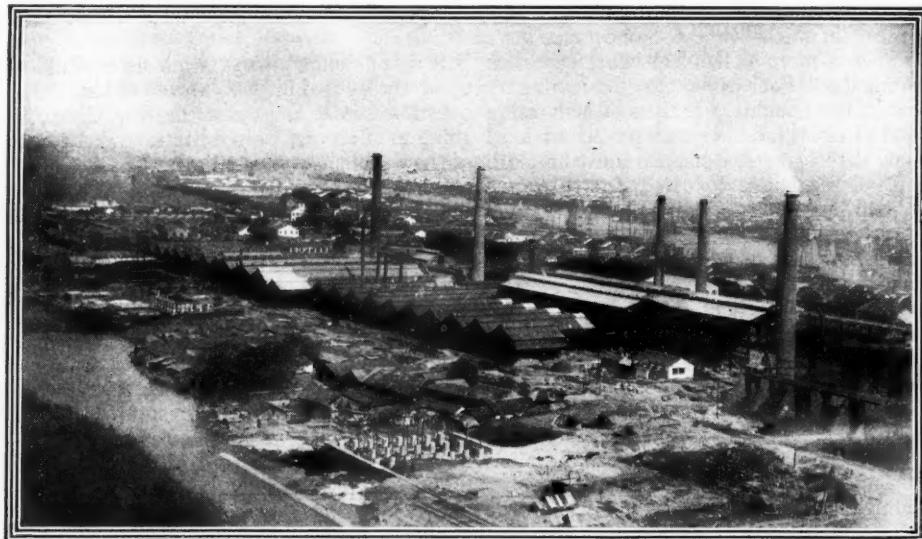
It is no longer worth while to speculate upon the probability of a New China; the question now is as to how the New China is going to affect the United States and the rest of the world. From our Pacific Coast, China is our next-door neighbor, and vastly nearer in fact than any map has ever indicated. Even New York City is now nearer to Shanghai and Hong Kong, in point of ease of access, than she was to Chicago a century ago. How Japan's awakening has increased that country's foreign trade all the world knows,—and China has eight times the population of Japan proper, and twenty-eight times the area, with almost fabulously valuable natural resources as yet untouched! Some one has said that to raise the Chinese standard of living to that of our own people would be (from the standpoint of markets) equivalent to the creation of four Americas. The importance of bringing about closer commercial relations between the United States and the Middle Kingdom can hardly be overestimated.

It is to be hoped, however, that in our desire to cultivate China's friendship, we shall not go to the length of changing our policy of excluding Asiatic immigration. To the thoughtful student, it must be plain that in the end such a change would lead only to disastrous reaction. At the same time we might well effect a change in our methods of enforc-

ing that policy. There is nothing else on land or sea that the Celestial so much dreads as to "lose face," to be humiliated, and it is the humiliation that attaches to the exclusion policy rather than the policy itself that is the great stumbling-block in the way of thorough cordial relations with America. You wouldn't so much object to having the servant at the door report his master not at home to visitors, but you would object to having the door slammed in your face; and John Chinaman is just about as human as the rest of us. Moreover, our own friendliness for John should lead us to adopt the more courteous of these two methods. Why should not our next exclusion law, therefore, be based upon the idea of reciprocity, and provide that there shall be admitted into America any year only so many Chinese laborers as there were American laborers admitted in China the preceding year.

Finally, it must always be remembered, that the awakening of China is a matter far more profound than any statistics of exports or imports or railway lines, or industrial de-

velopment. The Dragon Empire cannot become (as she will) one of the mightiest powers of the earth, her four hundred million people cannot be brought (as they will be brought) into the full current of the world's activities, without profoundly influencing all future civilization. For its own sake Christendom should seize quickly the opportunity offered by the present period of flux and change to help mold the new force that it must henceforth forever reckon with. "The remedy for the yellow peril, whatever that may be," as Mr. Roosevelt said while President, "is not the repression of life, but the cultivation and direction of life." The school, the mission, the newspaper—these are the agencies that should be used. Japan has thousands of teachers in China and scores of newspapers, but no other nation is adequately active. The present kindly feeling for America guarantees an especially cordial reception for American teachers, ministers, and writers, and those who feel the call to lands other than their own cannot find a more promising field than China.



A MODERN STEEL-MANUFACTURING CENTER IN CHINA

(The Hanyang Steel and Iron Works in Hankow)



A NEW YORK BLOCK OF MODEL TENEMENTS ON THE UPPER EAST SIDE

(The Bishop Henry C. Potter Memorial Buildings in Seventy-ninth Street. These up-to-date buildings offer a refreshing contrast to the old-time tenements of New York's lower East Side)

## CONGESTION IN CITIES AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM

BY EDWARD HALE BRUSH

THE discussion of the housing problem in the cities and of the advantages of suburban or country life is occupying an amount of attention just now that is significant. In the City of New York, which has a population of nearly five millions, as shown by the new census, interest in the subject is acute, partly because of the work completed or contemplated in the way of transit improvements, partly because of the activity of various societies and commissions organized to promote in numerous ways the common municipal welfare. Such societies as the Greater New York Taxpayers' Conference, the Brooklyn League, the Women's Municipal League of Brooklyn, the Allied Real Estate Interests of the City of New York, and such enterprises as the budget exhibits which have become annual features of the opening of the winter season in New York, owing chiefly to the work of these societies, have

done much to direct attention to the various aspects of the better housing question. One result of this activity was the creation by the Mayor, on the authority of the Board of Aldermen, of a commission on congestion which for several months has been investigating the question, giving to it perhaps the most broad and thorough study which a body of such a nature in this country has ever bestowed upon a subject. Its report will be awaited with interest by students of sociology and municipal affairs in the hope that it may contain recommendations and suggestions the execution of which will go far to relieve the intolerable situation in respect to congestion which has so long existed in New York and some other large American cities.

Justice Charles E. Hughes of the United States Supreme Court, just before leaving the governorship of the Empire State to take his seat on the federal bench, appointed a



TENEMENT CONDITIONS IN THE NEW YORK OF  
YESTERDAY

(In the old days this was the way women worked and children played. To the right is a school sink with twenty-five compartments, practically in the children's playground and not twenty-five feet from the building to the left)

State Commission on Distribution of Population. This State Commission will report about February 1 and the city commission about a month later.

Perhaps it may be said that the problem of congestion and better housing is being attacked in two ways, one solution being sought through spreading the population and luring it to the suburbs, or the farms beyond, where this is possible, and where it is not possible or feasible seeking a solution through substitution of good homes in the city's center for bad or indifferent ones. In the natural course of things, as the lure of the land becomes stronger and more compelling and more and more families of all classes discover the attractions of life in the country or suburbs the problem of city congestion will grow less and less difficult and there will be less demand for "model tenements," Mills Hotels, and similar devices of sociologists and philanthropists to meet the peculiar conditions of the present age. But in spite of the new and vast Pennsylvania-Long Island transit system, bringing communities fifteen miles away within half an hour of the "heart of New York," in spite of the McAdoo system of tubes and the Inter-

borough Subway with its contemplated extensions, it is probable that the problem of better housing will remain a difficult and urgent one for some time to come in Manhattan Borough and in some parts of Brooklyn and the Bronx.

It is said by those competent to make the comparison that New York's tenement problem is infinitely more urgent than London's, though we are accustomed to think of conditions in the English metropolis as worse than those in the American. However this may be, it is a fact that in the former more than one hundred million dollars have been invested in improved homes for wage-earners, while in the latter the amount so invested is probably only a fraction of that sum.

Space will not permit the description here of the long and often stubbornly fought battle for better housing in New York through laws compelling landlords to make better provision for their tenants and protecting the latter against inhuman and cruel greed. In general it may be said that because of the per-



WHAT LAW ENFORCEMENT HAS DONE  
(At the left old-style "front-and-rear" tenement and fire-escape like those constructed before the passage of the new law. To the right the new tenement with the fire-escape required by the present law)

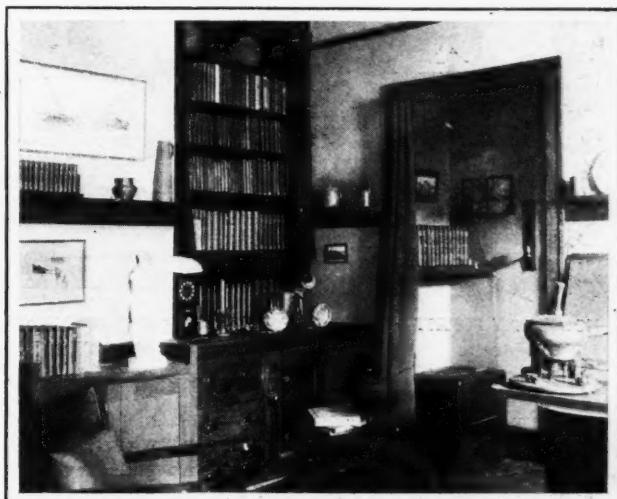
sistent campaign made in behalf of better housing for the poor the average New York tenement, while not yet model, shows great improvement over the days when such matters as the health and morals of tenement dwellers were left to care pretty much for themselves. There has been much advancement in the matter of sanitary standards, substitution of apartments with light and air for the "black holes" so long a disgrace to the metropolis, reduction in number of tenants to a given space, decrease in mortality rates, provision of fire escapes, bath and toilet and laundry facilities, and in giving the children a better chance for health and long life.

Yet in spite of what has been done in all these ways, conditions in respect to congestion are still where. However desirable such a result as so bad in "Little Old New York" that this, it is obvious its accomplishment is a long way off. Mr. Ashmead urged New York

to adopt the co-operative methods now so much in vogue in such British cities as Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham, which have led to so many workingmen living in better homes and in a large proportion of cases owning them.

#### A MODEL SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT

This is precisely what is being done already through the operation of the City and Suburban Homes Company, and it is on such lines that the Russell Sage Foundation Homes Company proposes to work in enabling wage-earners to own homes in the suburbs, its plan being the most elaborate of the kind yet devised and carried to execution in this country. The Foundation Homes Company is a branch of the Sage Foundation. In carrying out its plans the company purchased a tract of about 150 acres, partly wooded, lying along the Long Island Railroad at Forest Hills,



VIEW OF A THREE-ROOM SUITE IN ONE OF THE CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY'S MODEL TENEMENTS

(Showing how tastefully such apartments, renting for about \$4.50 a week, may be fitted up)



A TOP-FLOOR KITCHEN OF LOWER EAST SIDE, NEW YORK



HOUSES AT FOREST HILLS GARDENS, LONG ISLAND, DESIGNED FOR THE SAGE FOUNDATION HOMES COMPANY

(A group of ten 17-foot single-family dwellings, 6 to 8 rooms)

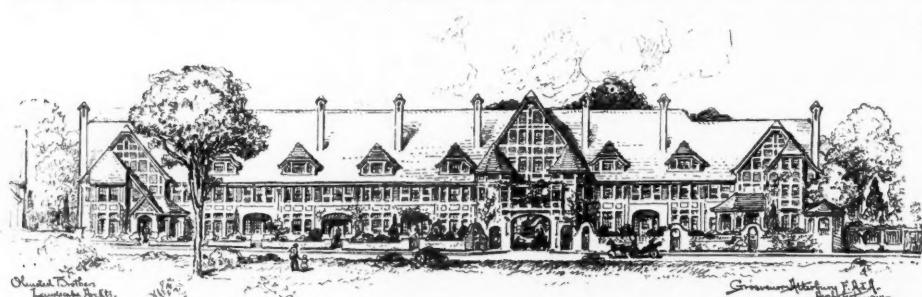
about six miles from Long Island City and three from Jamaica. The scenery at present is rural and with the kind of development anticipated should remain essentially so for years to come. The company has undertaken to establish a suburban community where wage-earners of the more intelligent and better paid class can make their homes, either renting rooms or apartments or houses from the company or becoming through its help the owners of homes themselves. The location is well inside the city limits and hardly five miles from where the Pennsylvania's new tubes, after passing under the Hudson, Manhattan Borough, and the East River, come to the surface again. The plans are not in all respects fully developed, but work has already been started on some of the buildings which will form the civic center of this community of model homes. Grouped about the station square are buildings containing non-house-keeping apartments for both men and women. Here single men and women of moderate income can live cheaply and enjoy country life without going far from the scene of their employment in the metropolis or its environs.

Besides these buildings there will be apart-

ment houses for families, built so that all rooms will have plenty of light and air, together with the conveniences now expected in all first-class flats. There will also be detached and semi-detached houses. These will be rented at as low rates or sold on as easy terms as is compatible with a business operation conducted on a conservative basis, so that no skilled mechanic or industrious and frugal habits or clerk of small but dependable salary need hesitate to embark on the home-owning enterprise. Streets have been laid out on artistic lines so as to preserve the natural aspect of the tract as far as possible, following the plans of the landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, the building plans being the work of Grosvenor Atterbury.

#### A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, NOT A CHARITY

The promoters of Forest Hills Gardens, as the new model town will be known, emphasize the fact that the project is not a charity, nor will it be feasible for the day laborer or lower paid mechanic to live here. Possibly the Sage Foundation will make provision for the needs of this class later on, but it is not



A GROUP OF MORE AMBITIOUS HOUSES AT FOREST HILLS GARDENS, FIFTEEN MINUTES FROM THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA STATION IN NEW YORK CITY

(Nine 26-foot single-family dwellings, 10 to 12 rooms)



STATION SQUARE, FOREST HILLS GARDENS, DESIGNED FOR THE SAGE FOUNDATION HOMES COMPANY

(Stores and non-housekeeping apartments)

practicable to do so at this location. While a large proportion of the land area to be developed will be sold without building improvements, the Homes Company, in order to set a standard and control more surely the architectural character of the future town, has planned to erect and hold, certainly for a time, a large number of dwellings. To this end plans have been prepared for an initial operation contemplating ten different groups of buildings, involving an expenditure of a million and a quarter dollars. The majority of those to be erected in this first operation, which will be largely confined to the more expensive and central property, are in the form of contiguous houses. The detached and semi-detached types of dwellings of various grades and sizes will be possible only on the less central and lower priced portions of the property. The groups in detail will be as follows:

Group 1. Station Square, including a railroad station and a group of buildings adjoining containing shops, offices, a restaurant, and accommodations for some 300 or 400 people, consisting mainly

of small non-housekeeping apartments for men and women, in connection with which a squash court and a number of small studios are provided.

Group 2. A block of small single-family houses with 13 feet frontage, two or three stories in height and containing four rooms and bath.

Group 3. A block of single-family houses with 17 feet frontage, two stories and attic, seven to nine rooms and bath.

Group 4. A block of ten single-family houses, with 17 feet frontage, two stories in height, five rooms and bath.

Group 5. A block of single-family houses with 20 feet frontage, two stories and attic in height and containing six to eight rooms and bath.

Group 6. Three blocks of single-family houses with 20 feet frontage, two stories and attic in height, containing eight to ten rooms and two baths.

Group 7. Three blocks of single-family houses with 26 feet frontage, three stories in height, containing ten to twelve rooms, baths and toilets.

Group 8. A block of workshops and flats, with 20 feet frontage and two or three stories in height, the former containing workshops or stores with three rooms and bath above them, the latter a workshop or store on street level and six rooms and bath in the upper stories.

Group 9. A row of semi-detached houses on shallow lots and having 50 feet frontage, designed for two families, houses having two stories and

each unit consisting of six rooms and bath, all on one floor.

Group 10. A row of semi-detached two family houses on lots with  $27\frac{1}{2}$  frontage, two stories in height, each unit containing five or six rooms and bath, all on one floor.

In speaking of the plans Mr. Atterbury says: "From an architectural point of view our greatest opportunity—apart from certain novel uses of material and methods of construction—will lie in that general harmony of design which is possible only where the entire scheme of development is laid out and executed under such a system of coöperation by the various experts as in the work for the Russell Sage Foundation at Forest Hills Gardens."

Edward H. Bouton, president of the Roland Park Company of Baltimore, is vice-president and general manager of the company, and associated with him on the development committee are John M. Glenn, general director of the Sage Foundation; Alfred T. White, William E. Harmon, and Robert W. DeForest, vice-president of the Sage Foundation.

#### A CITY CLUB FOR SINGLE WOMEN

The City and Suburban Homes Company was organized in 1896 and in that year and about a year later the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* published two most interesting articles by Dr. Elgin R. L. Gould, its president, describing its aims, especially the plans for model tenements and its suburban colony, Homewood. What Dr. Gould then said was largely of an anticipatory nature. One can speak now both of the past achievements of the society and its plans for the future, which is especially apropos in view of the fact that it has in the past year brought to the stage of completion three new improvements and started operations on two more. One of the latter is the Junior League Building, including a residential club and a second section designed for single women who wish to do light housekeeping. Work on the residential club has just been begun. As the company has gone on from the construction of one building to another it has naturally gained in experience and has elaborated its scheme, bringing in more and more of the things affecting the common welfare of the people occupying its habitations. In none of the City and Suburban Homes Company's tenements are there any airshaft bedrooms, dark kitchens, dark stairs and halls, water closets on stairs or "shake-your-hand" airshafts. Such features have brought the old-style tenements into condem-

nation. Under the new Tenement House law, passed in 1901, many of the abuses of old-time tenements, such as dumbbell shafts and dark stairways, rooms without light and air, have been largely abrogated in all new tenement buildings. The model tenements erected by the City and Suburban Homes Company before the passage of the law anticipated its provisions and set a precedent for them, and the newer buildings have kept pace with progress in housing science. In general they have fireproof construction and, instead of narrow airshafts, large courts, 25 to 30 feet wide, furnishing plenty of light and air to apartments opening on them, steam heat from a heating plant supplying all apartments of the same building, ample toilet and bath provisions and adequate laundry conveniences.

#### NEW BLOCKS OF MODEL TENEMENTS

Of the three model tenements brought to practical completion in the past year one is for colored people in West Sixty-third Street, and the other two are a group of two buildings in East Seventy-eighth Street and four in Seventy-ninth. The latter are known as the "Bishop Henry C. Potter Memorial Buildings," part of the proceeds of the capital stock used in their direction having been subscribed by the immediate family and a few friends of the late Bishop, who was greatly interested in the work of the company. There is a tablet to his memory on one of the buildings. With the completion of the projects now under way in Manhattan and Brooklyn boroughs the company will be owning eight groups of buildings of the nature of model tenements and one model suburb, Homewood. It also manages the two Phipps Model Tenements, that for white tenants in East Thirty-first Street and that for colored people on the West Side, and also a great deal of old tenement property owned by various persons. It has two model tenements of its own for colored people, both being well conducted and paying enterprises. The company's experience with colored tenants has been gratifying. Speaking of the "Tuskegee," the first building erected for them, President Gould said: "The company's experience with its own 'Tuskegee,' and in the management of Phipps Houses No. 2, furnishes such a satisfactory record for colored people as tenants that sanguine expectations for these new apartments are entertained."

One of the largest of the company's properties, the estate at First Avenue and East

Sixty-fourth Street, has a frontage of 1026 feet, built up with handsome brick structures containing eight stores and 861 apartments. There are 285 two-room apartments, 392 three-room apartments, and 184 of four rooms each.

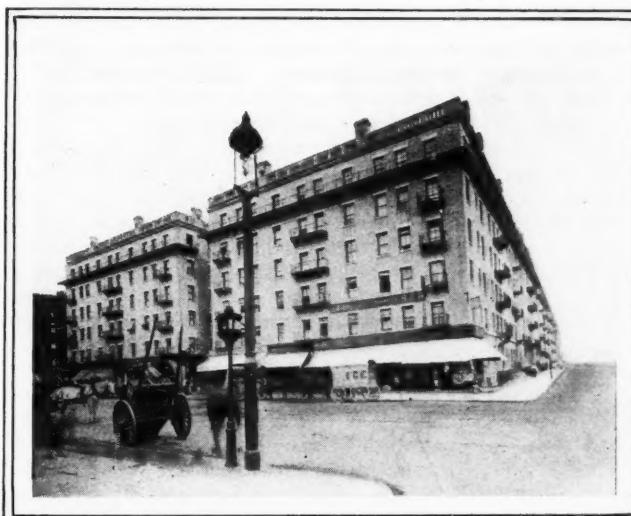
The success of the company in carrying out its policies in all these buildings has of course been due in large measure to the wisdom and tact of its officers, notably Dr. Gould and the enthusiastic and broad-minded secretary of the society, George W. R. Fallon, and the unfailing support of its fine board of directors, of whom Mr. R. Fulton Cutting is chairman. The more the subject is studied the better the lessons have been learned. In newer buildings improvements are noticed not seen in those first built. The Bishop Potter tenements have entrances that are quite imposing from an architectural point of view; there are tiled floors of attractive design, marble walls and stairways, and polished brass letter boxes. The entrances look more like those of a fashionable apartment than of a tenement. Yet here one finds families who pay less for apartments than is sometimes paid in New York rooming houses for back-hall bedrooms. A



TYPE OF COMBINATION DINING-ROOM AND KITCHEN IN A MODEL TENEMENT

three-room flat is not as ample quarters as could be desired, no doubt, yet with orderly habits, care and taste such an apartment can be kept in a way to make it a real home. With the complete heating, cooking, and laundry conveniences provided housekeeping is made comparatively simple and the labor incident to it reduced to a minimum. Prices of suites in these buildings range from \$1.75 to \$5.50 per week, according to the number of rooms and their location and arrangement.

Although space will not permit extended description here, a word should be said as to such model tenements in Manhattan as the Vanderbilt houses, with their special safeguards against tuberculosis, the Foote-Tri-Court tenement, the buildings of the New York Fire-proof Tenement Company, and the Phipps Model Tenements, Nos. 1 and 2, especially that in East Thirty-first Street, with its spacious court, roof garden and fine accommodations at almost back-hall bedroom rates. This and the other Phipps tenement, for colored tenants, are under the management of the City and Suburban Homes Company, though they are not owned by it.



THE CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY'S MODEL TENEMENT AT AVENUE A AND EAST SIXTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY

## HOMewood: A COMMUNITY OF HOME OWNERS

It is the aim of the company to provide wage-earners with good homes in or near the city's center while at the same time educating them as to the advantages and health-

the householders were people of moderate means, not able to employ gardeners for the care of their grounds. An English type of architecture prevails, with brick and shingles as the most common materials of construction. In architecture there is enough variety of style to avoid the monotony which is the bane of so many suburban settlements.

Homewood covers some thirty-two acres of land and the tract is now valued at about \$1,500,000, though the original investment in real estate represented a much smaller sum. The average price at which houses were sold some years ago was \$3800, but many who paid such a price are asking from \$6000 to \$7000 for their property now, and few are anxious to sell even at considerable advance, so well are they satisfied with their homes. In general these home owners obtained their houses by the payment of 10 per cent. down, twenty years being given them if desired in which to pay for their property, the company giving each purchaser a deed and taking an instalment mortgage for the remaining 90 per cent. of the price. The uniform sum paid in monthly was calculated so as to pay out the principal of the mortgage in twenty years with legal interest on deferred payments. Most home owners here have been anxious to pay for their homes faster than required, but the unusually liberal conditions were made because the objects of the company were home-making rather than speculative profit-seeking. Purchasers at Homewood need not remain debtors of the company for the entire twenty-year period, and after establishing a reasonable equity have generally found it easy to obtain at a low interest rate a loan covering the unpaid balance. A feature of the scheme is a life-insurance plan which protects both the company and the purchaser.

Some enterprises in the way of model homes have failed for lack of adaptability to the real needs of the people for whom they were intended. Their promoters went too much on theory. The result has been otherwise in the case of the model homes, whether apartments or houses, erected by the City and Suburban Homes Company. The wage-earning population of the great city has shown its appreciation of them. The proportion of vacancies in the model tenement buildings is only about one-half of one per cent. during three-fourths of the year. Losses from bad debts have averaged the remarkably low figure of one-third of one per cent. The result of the experiment demonstrates convincingly that the building of improved homes may under proper management afford



ONE OF THE HOUSES AT HOMewood, DEVELOPED BY  
THE CITY AND SUBURBAN HOMES COMPANY

(This house cost less than \$4000 on easy payments and is worth half as much again now)

fulness of suburban life. Its suburban settlement, Homewood, is no longer an experiment but a demonstrated success. Located about a mile from Bath Beach and within half an hour's ride from the City Hall, Manhattan, the situation is advantageous and will be still more so when the Fourth Avenue subway, now under construction, is completed and the time required to reach the district is cut in half. Homewood is a place where two-story one-family houses, with all improvements, can be rented for as low as \$19 per month, and the head of a family who is prompt in paying his rent gets a ticket to Manhattan by the elevated road thrown in as a bonus, which really reduces the monthly rental by \$2.40. However, it is not altogether a workingmen's community and the streets look rather like those of a fashionable suburb. Most of the houses are owned by the occupants and few are for sale.

Hedges are well kept, many houses have vine-clad verandas or porches, and the proportion of yards having flower gardens is greater than in any suburb I ever saw where



HOUSES AT HOMEWOOD WHICH RENT FOR ABOUT \$20 A MONTH

a fair return upon the investment. During the past fiscal year two dividends, each at the rate of two per cent., were paid to stockholders.

It will thus be seen that the model homes, whether city or suburban, of this company, have proved a success. But the question recurs whether the people they are mainly designed to benefit—the wage-earners and struggling toilers who though on small incomes try to live in a self-respecting way—take advantage of them. A brief but comprehensive answer is given in the company's last annual report, a paragraph of which reads: "These buildings shelter each year a larger proportion of our foreign-born population, and it may be that they will become

more and more a halting station, with badly congested tenement environment as the starting point and wholesome suburban life as the goal. The company's tenants as a whole are more self-respecting than the average tenement dwellers, but they are not on the average more prosperous. The statement frequently made that model tenements become the homes of people who can afford to pay higher rentals is not true so far as the experience of this company with its own buildings is concerned." It should not be inferred, however, that the tenants of the model tenements are all poor or lacking in education and culture. Many cultured people are found among the tenants, people who would by no means wish to be considered objects of charity.



SOLVING THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN AN ENGLISH MANUFACTURING SUBURB

(Cottages at Bournville, the seat of the chocolate industry, five miles from Birmingham)

# THE REAPPORTIONMENT OF THE HOUSE

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

HOW many members of our national House of Representatives are to sit under the gavel of Champ Clark (or somebody else) during the ten years beginning on March 4, 1913? Nobody at present can tell, but very soon it will be the business of Congress to determine. If to anybody the fixing of the number sounds like a simple proposition, let him not be deceived. Whatever else it may or may not be, our decennial reshuffle of congressional seats, consequent upon the taking of the census, is a high game of politics, and for weeks already the politicians have been cudgeling their brains in the attempt to figure out the intricate possibilities of it.

The first question, naturally, that will have to be settled is that of the time at which the new apportionment shall be made. On this point the Constitution is not explicit. It simply says that "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers," to be ascertained by the decennial enumeration. Actual practice in the matter has varied. Until 1890 the reapportionment was regularly postponed until the first session of the Congress succeeding the enumeration. After the eleventh census, however, a change was made and the apportionment bills for the eleventh and twelfth censuses were brought in and passed in each case during the short session of the expiring Congress immediately following the enumeration. Technically, it is immaterial which plan is adhered to, for the new arrangements do not in any case go into effect until the next congressional election. Practically, however, the one plan or the other may make a world of difference in the status and prospective fortunes of parties, of office-holders, and of office-seekers.

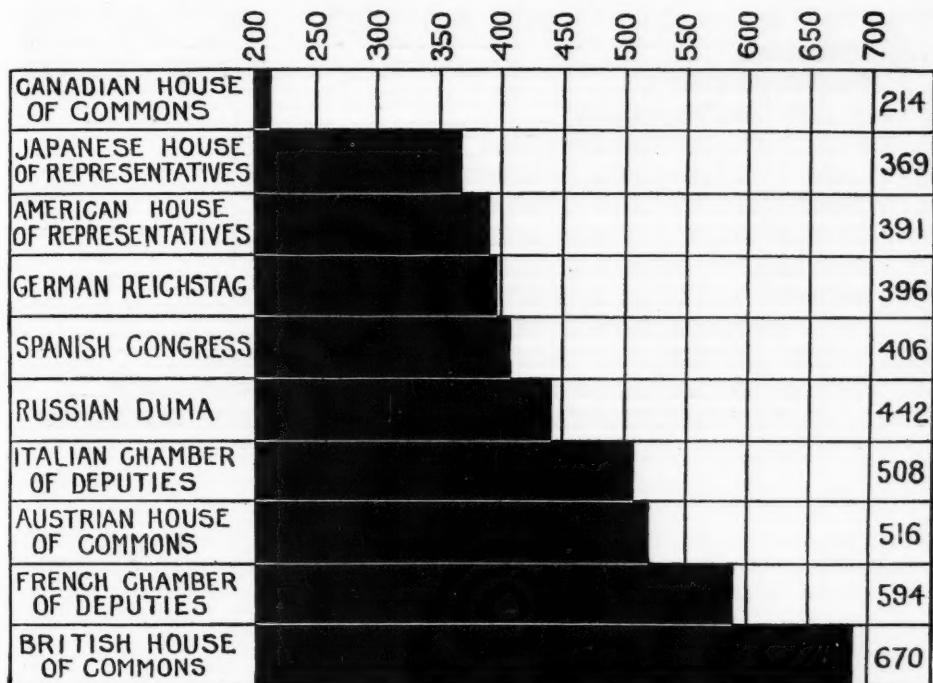
## WHY THE TIME ELEMENT IS IMPORTANT

To illustrate: During the past decade the growth of the population of New York State has been such that, if the present ratio of one representative to 194,182 people shall be maintained, the commonwealth will be entitled two years hence to eight new members

of Congress. Now New York is one of those States which has lately come into possession of a Democratic Legislature. After Congress determines the number of representatives to which a State is entitled, the Legislature of that State attends to the districting of the commonwealth for congressional purposes. If, therefore, Congress shall, during the present session, effect a reapportionment in accordance with the census of 1910, it will become the fortune of the New York Democrats to exercise almost immediately the privilege of redistricting the State—presumably after their own interests, as the Republicans were in a position to do ten years ago.

Considering that there are several other States—notably Maine, Ohio, and Indiana—in which a similar situation obtains, it is easy enough to understand why there should have been in recent weeks an insistent demand on the part of Republicans most concerned that the reapportionment be this time left over to be made by the Congress which shall come into being next December. The idea is that within a year or two the Republicans may chance to regain the upper hand in some States that have for the present fallen out of their control. A Democratic gerrymander of simply the four States of Maine, New York, Ohio, and Indiana might easily be made to yield ten or a dozen seats, as compared with the present Republican gerrymander of these same States.

On the whole, however, the policy of delay is hardly likely to prevail, even though there would be abundant precedent for it. On the basis of statistics especially prepared for the purpose by Director Durand and his assistants, the House Committee on the Census, under the chairmanship of Mr. Crumpacker, has already drafted a reapportionment bill for the consideration of Congress during the current session, and some sort of measure on the subject may be expected to be passed before the dissolution in March. The Democrats will look on complacently while the expiring Republican majority pushes the project with such grace as it can muster.



## SOME OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST PARLIAMENTARY BODIES

(Figures at the right indicate membership; each square, from left to right, represents fifty members, as indicated by figures at the top)

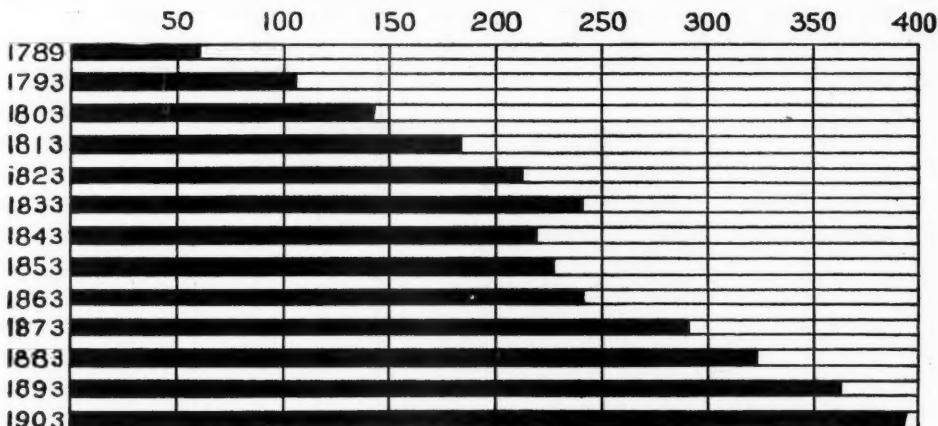
## HOW LARGE SHOULD THE HOUSE BE?

Mere political advantage or disadvantage is, of course, a transitory phase. The question of largest moment is rather that of the size of the House after its forthcoming reconstitution. At what point numerically a deliberative assembly ceases to be a deliberative assembly and becomes a mob nobody has ever satisfactorily determined, though obviously there must somewhere be a dividing line. The British House of Commons has 670 members. It works smoothly enough, though it is but fair to say that the actual attendance, save on rare occasions, is very much smaller. The French Chamber of Deputies contains 594 members. As is well known, it is a somewhat tempestuous body. The German Reichstag numbers 396; the Spanish Chamber, 406; the Russian Duma, 442; the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 508; and the Austrian Chamber, 516. Our House of Representatives, with its 391 members, is therefore by no means the largest of the world's parliamentary assemblies. But we are a fast-growing people, and our popular legislative chamber, if it is to be augmented to keep pace with its ever-broadening constit-

uency, must eventually attain the magnitude of even the British Commons. Whether such a thing is desirable is a very grave question. Since the arbitrary and provisional apportionment which the framers put into the text of the Constitution itself, there have been, to 1910, twelve reapportionments—one consequent upon each of the twelve censuses. All but one effected a more or less substantial increase in the membership of the House. Starting with 65, the number rose in 1793 to 105; in 1803, to 141; in 1813, to 181; in 1823, to 213; and in 1833, to 240. In 1843, at the instance of the Senate, it was set back to 223; but at each of the next two censuses it was increased by ten, and in 1873 it was brought up to 293. Thereafter, within the short space of thirty years, it rose to the present figure, 391. At this rate, two or three more generations will carry the number past that in the French popular chamber and within hailing distance of that in the British House of Commons.

## THE CHANGING RATIO OF REPRESENTATION

The rapid enlargement of the House has taken place in spite of successive increases



THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE HOUSE AS INCREASED AT SUCCESSIVE REAPPORTIONMENTS

(Figures at the top designate the number of members)

of the number of people represented by the individual member. Between the first and third censuses a member represented supposedly 33,000 people. If that ratio had been maintained, the lower house at Washington would to-day contain about 2300 members, and after 1913, more than 2800! A member to-day, however, represents 194,182 inhabitants—nearly six times as many as a hundred years ago. As Congress now approaches the problem once more, the vital question is that of the ratio to be adopted for the coming ten years. To maintain the present ratio means to increase the membership of the House to upward of 470; to raise it to something like 215,000 means a membership of 425; only by stretching it to 233,000 can a membership of the present figure be preserved. No such sweeping increase has ever been made, nor is it now probable.

## STATES THAT MAY LOSE SEATS

And just here arises the principal difficulty. The enormous growth of population which the census of 1910 records has been spread very unevenly over the country. In Iowa there has been no growth at all. In other States, as Missouri, Kentucky, and Maine, the growth has been very slight. In such States, obviously, to raise the representation ratio would mean to reduce the number of representatives to which the State is entitled. This sort of thing has happened again and again, but naturally no State enjoys it. Thus, Virginia, which after the census of 1790 was given 19 seats and in the next decade 23, was compelled by reason of her comparative slow-

ness of growth to see them stripped from her until in the seventies she had but 9 and to-day has but 10. Maryland has been reduced from 8 to 6; New Hampshire, from 4 to 2; Connecticut, from 7 to 5; Maine, from 8 (in 1830) to 4. Massachusetts has barely preserved the same number (14) with which she started in 1790. There have been only three censuses—the last one in 1890—which did not entail the loss of seats by one or more States.

Unless by the forthcoming reapportionment the House shall be increased to at least 425, there must be losses of congressional seats, and likewise of votes in the Electoral College, by a large number of States. From commonwealths most likely to suffer—Maine, New Hampshire, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and States farther south—has arisen an insistent demand for such an increase of the House as will make it possible to provide adequate representation for the growing populations of States like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Texas, without at the same time withdrawing seats from the States that are growing less rapidly.

The issue is as old as the nation. In earlier times there were struggles over it which were prolonged sometimes through two sessions, or even over from one Congress to another. Twenty years ago a contest of the sort was averted by the understanding which prevailed from the first that no State was to be deprived of any portion of its existing quota. But ten years ago there was a great fight, with the result, as has almost invariably happened, that the large-house party triumphed. The Burleigh bill, providing for 386 seats, was

carried in opposition to the Hopkins bill, appropriation measure, concerning whose real merits most members are utterly in the dark, reported by the majority of the House Committee, providing for the continuance of the existing number, 357.

#### FRACTIONAL CONSTITUENCIES

The task of reapportionment is further complicated by the recurrence of fractional constituencies. Until 1840 the prevailing method was to fix upon the number of people to be represented by each member, as 33,000 in 1793 and again in 1803, and by dividing it into the total number of inhabitants of a State obtain a quotient which would be the number of representatives to which that State should be entitled. No regard was paid to fractions remaining, though sometimes they fell but little short of the number corresponding to a representative.

In 1832 the injustice of this system was exposed by Daniel Webster, then a member of the Census Committee of the Senate, and at the reapportionment of 1843 an additional member was allowed in every instance where, after the regular constituencies had been provided for, there remained a "major fraction," *i. e.*, more than half enough people to be regularly entitled to a representative. This has been uniformly the practice since 1843, with the further modification that once or twice, in order to make up the quota of members previously determined upon, representation has been accorded to a few of the largest minor fractions. Of course, even in such a case, there will still be in various States minor groups of people over and above the technical constituencies provided for. These people are not, however, as is sometimes loosely said, unrepresented. They simply comprise a population excess within the established congressional districts. No fewer than twenty-three members of Congress to-day represent fractional constituencies.

#### GROWTH OF THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

The arguments which may be brought forward against a further increase of the membership of the House are legion. Already, in a considerable degree, the House, by reason of its size, has lost the deliberative character which the framers of our Constitution manifestly intended it to possess. The fate of almost every measure is now determined in committee, and it has become a familiar proceeding for the House to vote an enormous

appropriation measure, concerning whose real merits most members are utterly in the dark, within the record-breaking space of ten or fifteen minutes. To provide places for so many members, the committees themselves have grown unwieldy, and some have been created which are so unnecessary that they rarely or never even hold a meeting.

#### THE SEATING PROBLEM

The purely physical difficulties are also pronounced. Even now it is all but impossible for the member who is so unfortunate as to draw a seat at the rear or on the outer edge of the chamber to hear what is going on. In 1858, when the membership was less than two thirds of what it now is, an experiment was tried in the seating of the members on plush benches after the style of the British House of Commons; but the result was adjudged extremely unsatisfactory, and after a single short session there was a return to the more businesslike but more space-consuming American plan. What to do with twenty-five or thirty newcomers in 1913 will, if the membership shall be increased by so much, offer no inconsiderable puzzle.

And if twenty-five or thirty in 1913, how many more in 1923, and at decennial intervals thereafter? For it will be no easier to call a halt to-morrow than it is to-day. Almost precisely sixty years ago Congress very definitely put itself on record in a resolution to the effect that the House of Representatives had attained a size beyond which it ought never to be increased. At that time there were but 233 members. It was further stipulated that thereafter reapportionments should be worked out, not by Congress itself, but by the Secretary of the Interior. In 1862, however, when that official undertook to perform the task committed to him, Congress stepped in and took it out of his hands, threw out the arrangements he had proposed, and ended by adding eight seats for which he had not provided. Ten years later forty-nine seats were added at a single stroke, and there never has been a reapportionment since when there has been enough consideration for the real interests of the House, and of the country, to withstand the powerfully directed pressure for numbers. It is to be hoped that the Congress now expiring may be made to realize, even at the last moment, the opportunity for the exercise of real statesmanship which lies at just this point.

# THE POTASH INDUSTRY AND THE AMERICAN FARMER

BY ARTHUR B. REEVE

WHEN the Secretary of Agriculture published his annual figures of the value of our farm products—nearly nine billions of dollars last year—every American must have felt a sensation of commendable pride. For at no time in the world's history has any other country equaled this agricultural record.

But how much longer will it last? Any farmer knows that we are taking far more from our soil than we are putting back into it, and that cannot go on forever. The conservationists have been telling us for years that we are about at the end of our virgin lands, that the problem of soil exhaustion follows hard on the heels of such record production.

In other words, the future of Uncle Sam's farms is bound up in the question of fertilizers—in putting back into the soil at least approximately what we are so lavishly taking out of it. Roughly speaking, fertilizers are composed of phosphoric acid, nitrate of soda, and some form of potash salts. Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee furnish us with immense rock phosphate deposits. Chile has enormous nitrate beds, and there are other ways besides importing nitrates from Chile to put nitrogen back into the soil. About phosphates and nitrates much has been written and many estimates given of how many more generations they will last. But to-day the bulletins of the Agricultural Department, the reports of the State Experiment Stations, and the investigations of the agricultural colleges tell the farmer why his crops fail. They tell him that the reason why his fertilizers do not stop the failure is because he does not realize the value of potash added to the nitrates and phosphoric acid. What with all this education the potash question must yearly take on increased importance. For if there comes, as certainly there is coming, a time of diminishing yields from our land, that means even greater increases in the cost of living.

Somewhere in the dim past, when Europe was a tropical country, a little arm of the sea was separated off into a huge natural evaporation pan. Here for thirteen thousand years,

as the geologists tell us, the blazing sun beat down on the great salt lake which was later, in our own time, to be the Stassfurt potash region in Saxony. It extends from the Harz Mountains to the Elbe and from Magdeburg to Bernburg. A channel from the ocean ran into this lake and as the waters were evaporated new salt waters were supplied. Thus these deposits of salts are over 5000 feet (nearly a mile) deep. They are practically inexhaustible.

## THE WONDERFUL DEPOSITS IN SAXONY

Nowhere else in the world are there potash deposits even remotely comparable to those at Stassfurt. For, after the thousands of years of evaporation, Nature came along and laid a solid deposit of impervious clay over the precious salts. Otherwise the rain and water soaking through the earth would have dissolved and carried away these deposits, as deposits in other parts of the world have undoubtedly been carried away.

Thus it comes about that, aided by Nature, the little group of mine owners in the Stassfurt region have a grip on the potash trade of the world, and hence on the farmer who is the greatest of all consumers of potash, a grip such as few of the strongest monopolies in any other necessary have ever possessed.

Early in the nineteenth century this region was noted for its salt works (table salt). But the process was the old, unscientific one of evaporating the water off salt in solution. When rock salt was discovered in other parts of the world, the Stassfurt salt industry languished. In 1839 the government made borings to determine whether there were deposits of workable rock salt. Between 1852 and 1857 a shaft over one thousand feet deep was sunk, but nothing but potash and magnesia salts were found. At that time they were considered practically worthless and were called "refuse salts."

Then came Justus von Liebig and his researches in organic chemistry, and in 1860 he discovered that potash salts were necessary to plant life. As the only other way to get potash was by the old system of burning

wood and draining the potash off from the ashes, this discovery at once made the Stassfurt deposits of inestimable value. The next year the first factories for refining potash salts were established. Farmers tried potash in the soil with success and at once an enormous demand was created. Miners, laborers, chemists, engineers, superintendents, clerks, flocked to the region and the old abandoned salt works of Stassfurt became one of the great sources of German wealth. To-day these potash deposits spell the agricultural fertility of the world, for while there is an electrolytic method of producing potash it is not commercially practicable. Nothing, so far, can compete with the potassium chloride, muriate, sulphate and other salts produced by the great Stassfurt kali industry.

#### THE MINING SYNDICATE

In this Stassfurt region about 700,000 tons of actual potash are produced in the course of a year, and of this amount the United States consumes about one-fifth. This production has for twenty years been under absolute control, both in amount and price, by a syndicate in which the imperial government and several of the German states participate as owners of potash mines. Of recent years both the amount of potash produced has increased and the price advanced. A good mine, it has been demonstrated, can make from 300 to 500 per cent. profit over and above mining costs, general expenses, and depreciation. Thus there is profit in potash.

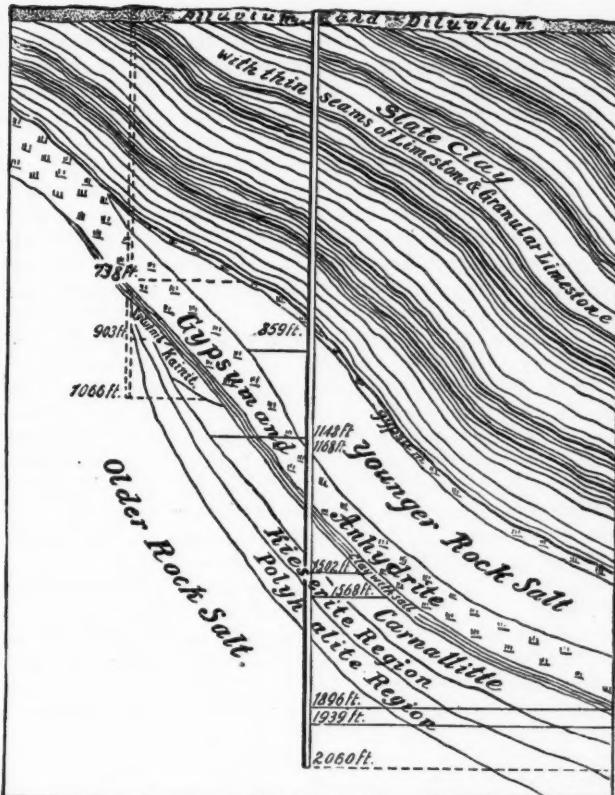
The great potash syndicate is composed of sixty-odd German potash producers who today dominate Germany, America, in fact the whole agricultural world. In its sixty-odd potash or kali works are 20,000 or more laborers in the mines, and about 1000 clerks and other executive officers; it controls mines, factories, reduction plants, railroads, locomotives, and cars.

On June 30, 1909, the German Kalisyndikat was dissolved. Five years had been the usual term for which the potash mine owners

made their agreements and on that date their agreement ended. As the number of mines had been increasing and the amount of production likewise, Americans had high hopes of securing potash at lower prices.

#### THE PROMISE OF LOWER PRICES

Thus, when the agreement was not renewed, Hermann Schmidtman, of Lofer, Austria, who had been a pioneer in the potash fields and a large producer through the Aschersleben and Sollstedt mines which he had developed, made contracts with two of the important American consumers for seven years to supply potash at a price about 30 per cent. less than the old syndicate prices. The third of the important American consumers also had a similar contract with another independent mine. Moreover, three years before, in 1906, the independent American fertilizer companies had made contracts for ten



SECTION OF POTASH SALT MINE SHAFT "LUDWIG II"

when the old syndicate started to break up, passed a law allowing a syndicate committee to fix arbitrarily the amount of potash all mines should produce and sell free of tax. Previous contracts had nothing to do with it. Moreover, about half even of this fixed amount must be sold in Germany. To cap the climax, on any excess over the limited production a tax was levied amounting to about 100 per cent. of the price of which the makers of the low-priced contracts had agreed to sell potash to the Americans. This tax amounts to more than the entire cost of production at the mines. Worse than that, it makes the price of potash on delivery in the United States greater even than it was before the old syndicate broke up in July, 1909.

The other sixty mines were not willing to sit still and see the control of the whole American market pass to the three mines which were willing to furnish potash below the old syndicate prices. Therefore the syndicate was reorganized.

#### THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S INTERVENTION

Negotiations continued between the mine-owners, the Schmidtmanns, and the Americans until after the American Tariff law was passed and signed in 1909. The real fighting began in September of that year, and the question was still open in the latter part of the year when the United States was negotiating with various countries regarding the application of the maximum and minimum schedules of our new tariff. Germany, of course, wanted the minimum, or "most-favored nation" schedule; and America, of course, wanted reasonably priced potash.

Assurances were conveyed to our Government that nothing would be done that would impair the validity of existing contracts, and with these assurances Germany was placed on the minimum tariff schedules of 1909.

#### TAXING THE AMERICAN CONSUMER

The low-priced American contracts contained a clause which provided that "any export or import duties or other governmental charges which may hereafter become effective during the life of the contract shall also be paid by the buyer"—that is, the American potash purchaser. When it became evident, then, that Germany contemplated legislation, aimed along this line, Mr. Schmidtmann used every effort to have it made as little burdensome as possible, but the syndicate proved too strong for him. Representations by our ambassador to Germany were also unavailing. Several American representatives visited Berlin but could arrange no satisfactory compromise.

Finally, on May 10, 1910, the Reichstag

passed a law allowing a syndicate committee to fix arbitrarily the amount of potash all mines should produce and sell free of tax. Previous contracts had nothing to do with it. Moreover, about half even of this fixed amount must be sold in Germany. To cap the climax, on any excess over the limited production a tax was levied amounting to about 100 per cent. of the price of which the makers of the low-priced contracts had agreed to sell potash to the Americans. This tax amounts to more than the entire cost of production at the mines. Worse than that, it makes the price of potash on delivery in the United States greater even than it was before the old syndicate broke up in July, 1909. Not only was America so deprived of reasonably priced potash but the price was thus boosted higher than ever before. However, after vigorous representations the Bundesrath was authorized to reduce the tax slightly, and make the conditions a little less onerous.

As for the promise given not to impair the low-price contracts, while it is true that nothing has been done which legally violates them, the heavy tax imposed would force the buyers to pay a price much higher than that at which the syndicate is now selling to others who hold no contracts. Under such circumstances the American buyers would be unable to compete and would be destroyed if compelled to comply with the contract conditions.

The low-priced American contracts were made ten months before this new tax law was passed. The tonnage necessary to fulfil these contracts is equal to the total capacity of the three non-syndicate mines which made the contracts. Theoretically half their quota could be sold free to us. But that would be only half enough to live up to their contracts. If the other half is also sold to America, instead of being sold in Germany, the first half—the free quota—is forfeited. Therefore Americans will not receive even half the value of their contracts.

However, those who are in closest touch with the situation do not strongly advocate extreme measures. They believe that nothing more is necessary than a strong stand by the administration for the protection of the interests of the American consumer of potash—the farmer.



# VOTING OUT THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

BY FERDINAND COWLE IGLEHART

(District Superintendent of the New York Anti-Saloon League)

THE case of the people against the saloon is being tried in the court of public opinion in this country and the verdict of the ballot-box seems to be "guilty." Forty-five millions of the people of the land, one-half of the inhabitants, are living in territory in which the liquor traffic has been forbidden by law. Twenty-five of the thirty millions of the people living in the Southern States have already abolished the saloon by local option or by State prohibitory law. The liquor dealers supposed that the political landslide in November last would be to their advantage and now assert that it was. The temperance people, however, deny this and maintain that, while there have been some temporary checks to the movement in certain quarters owing to the excessive zeal of radical friends, there have been more victories than defeats, and predict that the ballot will continue the steady work of demolishing the saloon.

#### MR. BRYAN AND COUNTY OPTION

There never was a cleaner-cut issue than that between the liquor and the temperance forces in the election in Nebraska last November. William Jennings Bryan had reason to believe that the brewers had played an important part in defeating him in his last Presidential campaign. He undertook to have a county local option plank put in his State Democratic platform. Mr. Bryan made a most eloquent plea before the seven thousand people who had gathered in the tent for the convention, but they voted down his local option proposition by a tremendous majority, and with jeers and contempt, and deposed him from party leadership in his State. He told the Democrats at that convention that he had been notified of the fact that the Republican State convention in session in another city had adopted a county local option resolution. The Democratic convention then nominated for Governor Mayor Dahlman, who came out openly against advanced temperance legislation. Mr. Bryan, by his pen through the *Commoner* and his tongue from the stump, opposed Dahlman. During the last ten days of the

convention, he made election addresses at Lincoln, Omaha, and other strategic points, hiring the halls himself and paying all of the expenses, as the Democratic committee refused to "date" him. This is a sample of his terrific arraignment of the liquor interests in one of his campaign speeches:

I am not willing to turn the Democratic party over to the brewers and make it the open and avowed champion of the liquor interests. The liquor business is on the defensive; its representatives are, for the most part, lawless themselves and in league with lawlessness. They are in partnership with the gambling hell and the brothel. They are the most corrupt and corrupting influence in politics, and I shall not, by voice or vote, aid them in establishing a reign of terror in this State. . . . I shall contribute whatever assistance I can to the effort which will be made to put an end to the spree upon which our party seems to have embarked. I am not willing that the party shall die of delirium tremens.

Mr. Bryan worked for the rest of the ticket. The result of the election was that Mr. Dahlman was defeated by Mr. Aldrich, a pronounced county local optionist. A Democratic legislature was elected, but it is understood that enough local option Democrats and Republicans were chosen to insure the passage of the bill at the next session. Mr. Bryan has gone back to the leadership of his party in the State and will have no little influence with the next Congress and the liquor people will have to reckon with him hereafter as one of their most powerful and relentless foes.

#### OKLAHOMA A PROHIBITION STATE

The most signal defeat which the liquor men suffered was the vote which kept Oklahoma in the prohibition column. That State adopted a prohibition plank in its constitution when it came into the Union. The temperance people were much surprised at the demand which the saloon men made a few months before the election, that the question should be voted upon again. The temperance people went into the courts to prevent such a contest, and the Supreme Court declared that it could not have any jurisdiction

over the constitutional question until an election should have been held. It is understood that the liquor men put pretty nearly a million dollars into the contest, as the taking of that State from the prohibition column would have likely set the temperance reform movement back several years. The Anti-Saloon League of the new State called loudly to the churches, temperance people and citizens generally for active coöperation in the whirlwind campaign, and there was such a moral uprising as has been scarcely seen in any other State. Governor Haskell and Senator Owen and other public men were active upon the side of the church in the contest. Bishop Quayle read out the appointments of his Methodist conference in the State and told his men not to go to their new appointments, as is the universal custom, the first Sunday of the new conference year, but to go back to their old homes, roll up their sleeves and beat down the greatest foe of the church. They and others like them went with an enthusiasm that was contagious and the victory was won. The majority for prohibition was 24,000 on the flat "yes" and "no" vote, and 42,000 on a constitutional majority. Against the prohibitory proposition, the brewers proposed a model license law which would have made Oklahoma one of the wettest States of the Union.

Governor Stubbs has been re-elected in Kansas. He has rigidly enforced the prohibitory laws of the State and claims that under his administration all the saloons are closed, most of the "blind tigers" eliminated and only some few "boot-leggers" left. The whiskey people hate Governor Stubbs perhaps more than any man in the nation because he is such an aggressive enemy.

#### PROHIBITION DEFEATED IN MISSOURI AND OREGON

The liquor forces were successful in the vote in Missouri, against State-wide prohibition. By the Initiative and Referendum, a small minority in that State can call an election. About forty people in Sedalia started a movement and enough names were added to bring on a contest for State-wide prohibition. It was only the extremists that favored this action. Conservative temperance people protested against it, and foretold the overwhelming defeat which such a proposition would suffer before public sentiment was ready for it. The measure was defeated by 200,000 majority. The vote in the State of Missouri did not make any change in the temperance situa-

tion. There are still fifty-nine counties wholly dry and a million of the people living in no-license territory.

The fight for constitutional prohibition in Oregon was lost. The State went wet by a small majority in the prohibition fight, losing six dry counties. Fifteen out of the thirty-three counties, however, are still dry. California, on the other hand, for the first time in its history has passed a local option law.

#### VICTORIES AND REVERSES IN THE SOUTH

Although the Governor of Texas is against State prohibition, he was elected upon a platform declaring for it, and it is understood that two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature elected are in favor of that measure. The Governor says if it should be passed he will sign the bill.

There has been somewhat of a reaction in Alabama. The constitutional prohibitory proposition was defeated by popular vote last winter. The State did not go back to license, however, and retained its statutory prohibitory law. Ex-Governor Comer's anti-corporation administration made possible the uniting of the railroad men in favor of Emmet O'Neal for Governor. He defeated Mallory, who stood for State-wide prohibition.

Birmingham has elected a reform mayor. There is a possibility of the repeal of the prohibitory law in Alabama, but no certainty of it.

The "wets" were successful in the fight against prohibition in Florida, by a majority of a little less than 5000. This was somewhat of a surprise to the temperance people and country at large, but it is charged that the liquor men paid the poll tax of 30,000 negroes and voted them in favor of the saloon. It is said that seven colored counties made the 4700 majority against prohibition. Friends of the colored people fear that their action in making the alliance with the saloons at the polls will result in the addition of a "grandfather's clause" to the laws of the State. The general vote, however, did not affect the individual localities. Thirty-five of the forty-seven counties are still dry and about four-fifths of the population live in territory from which the saloon has been eliminated by the vote of the people. There are only about 350 saloons left in the entire State.

The election of Hoke Smith as Governor of Georgia was a pronounced temperance victory. Governor Smith removed Brown when he was railroad commissioner. Then the whiskey people took the side of Brown and

with the aid of the corporations which Smith had opposed, he was elected governor. His administration gave a loose enforcement of the prohibitory laws, especially in Atlanta. The liquor forces greatly rejoiced over Smith's defeat, as he had stood for and signed the State prohibitory bill. At the last election, the temperance people took great pleasure in helping to put Hoke Smith back into power as the Governor of the State. To the deep despair of the saloon forces of the State the prohibitory law will not be repealed at the next session of the Legislature, and if any unfriendly action should be attempted, Governor Smith would put his veto upon it.

A tragic issue of the last campaign was the fight between the saloon and its enemies in the State of Tennessee. Senator Carmack was murdered by the Coopers in a quarrel which they picked with him over the fight against the saloons of the State. Governor Patterson had championed the Coopers. The Republicans and Independent Democrats had elected a nonpartisan judiciary. Patterson undertook to renominate himself, but the outburst of hostility to him drove him from his purpose, and in the contest the Republicans and Independent Democrats, standing for State-wide prohibition and a rigid enforcement of the law, swept the State, electing Ben Hooper over Senator Taylor for Governor, and placing the State, for the third time only in its history, in the Republican column.

#### THE FIGHT IN THE MIDDLE WEST

Three years ago the Legislature in Illinois gave township, city, and village local option. Under these provisions three-fourths of the territory of the State is now dry. By annexation of suburban towns and by city ordinance and by local option one-half of the area of the city of Chicago is to-day dry. The fight is on in Illinois for local option by counties as units, with a very good prospect of success. It is expected that there will be temperance Democrats and Republicans enough in the Legislature to pass it.

One of the most remarkable incidents in the moral contest in Chicago was the election of the Rev. G. Frank Smith in the nineteenth Senatorial district, which is the home of the united societies of a personal liberty league, and contains six hundred saloons and one of the largest breweries in Chicago. The manager of the brewery conducted the campaign against Smith. There were two Republican candidates against him and Smith ran on an

independent ticket, as the acknowledged people. He was elected by 2000 majority.

In Indiana the local option question got mixed up in the election contest. It is asserted that several candidates for the Legislature who were pledged to Senator Beveridge were defeated solely by the county option issue. The friends of temperance hope that the county local option law will not be repealed. Seventy of the 92 counties of the State are now dry, and a repeal of the law might prove a dangerous Democratic experiment.

The question of the repeal of county option in Ohio was not decided by the Democratic victory in that State. Early in the summer the moral sense of the nation had been shocked by the wanton killing of young Etherington, one of the Anti-Saloon detectives, at Newark, a city of 25,000 inhabitants, in Licking County, which had been voted "dry" by 700 majority. This tragedy brought about the "cleaning up" of Newark, where the law is no longer openly defied, as formerly. There is undoubtedly some sentiment in favor of repealing the county option law, but whether the Legislature will venture to take such action remains to be seen. The Anti-Saloon forces are confident of preventing repeal.

#### IN RURAL NEW YORK

Another surprise for both the liquor and the temperance people is the rapidity with which the saloon is being eliminated from the rural districts of New York State. The Raines Law of 1896 provided local option by towns as a unit, allowing an election in towns every two years on four forms of license, saloon, liquor store, drug store, and hotel. The wet and dry map of New York shows the result of the elections up to January 1, 1911. Full license towns, less than 300; partial license about 250; no license of any kind, 400. The elections of 1909 alone cause a net increase of 80 no-license towns. It took eleven years before to win a net increase of 49 no-license towns, or the average of about four a year, so that in one year there was twice as much progress made in driving out the saloon as in all of the eleven years before. One-fourth of the population of the State lives in the rural districts, where the right of local option is granted, but three-fourths live in the 49 cities of the State, where local option is forbidden. The Anti-Saloon League has for several years undertaken to secure local option for cities. It will present a bill before

the present Legislature asking the privilege of local option for cities as a whole. The fate of excise and other reform legislation will depend somewhat upon whether Governor Dix shall ally his administration with the up-State Democracy or with Tammany Hall.

A marked advance in temperance legislation was made at the last session of the Legislature, when the amendment to the Raines Law increased the limit for consents from 200 to 300 feet and placed the ratio of one saloon to 750 of the population, instead of one to 350, which is the custom throughout the State. The law does not apply to old licenses, but to new ones, and in the course of time, without any other legislation, one-half the saloons in New York State and City will be abolished.

#### RESUBMISSION IN MAINE

The liquor interests maintain that Maine was taken out of the Republican and placed in the Democratic column because the Republican platform was in favor of the maintenance and enforcement of the State prohibitory law. The temperance people see in the change of that State's vote only the beginning of the national political landslide which was generally expected. It is said that the liquor question entered very little into the discussions of the campaign and that the Democratic and Republican electors made very little mention of it in their speeches. After the election, however, the whiskey men claimed that it was their victory. The question of resubmission will be up before the Legislature and seems likely to be carried, but there is a strong possibility that if the question should be resubmitted the people, Democrats and Republicans, would unite in maintaining the State prohibitory law.

#### INTERNAL REVENUE RETURNS

The liquor interests are making a good deal of the report of the United States Internal Revenue Bureau indicating an increase in the manufacture and consumption of both distilled and spirituous liquors for 1910 over that of 1909, and are trying to make the public believe that the restrictive excise legislation and the prohibition enactments were responsible for the increase. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The increase has been in the wet States and especially those containing the very large cities. With one or two exceptions there is not a dry State or county in the United States where the authorized statistics do not show a decrease in the

manufacture and use of intoxicating liquors during the year 1910 over that of 1909. The increase in the manufacture of distilled liquors in New York State alone in 1910 is three times as large as the whole amount of such liquors consumed by all the prohibition States of the country in the year 1910. And the increase of the consumption of beer in New York State alone in 1910 was an amount equal to two-thirds of all the beer consumed by all the prohibition States in 1910.

A good deal of the rum that was sold in the prohibited territory during the year was carried there under the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Law, where the federal Government has permitted dealers to ship liquors from wet into dry territory. There is an earnest effort upon the part of the Anti-Saloon League and other temperance organizations to secure the passage of the Miller-Curtis bill at the present session of Congress, which will enable the States to enforce their own statutes against the liquor traffic in their own territory.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES

The Anti-Saloon League began seventeen years ago to teach the church how to use the ballot effectively against the saloon. There are 750 American pulpits open to official representatives of this League every Sunday in the year, and many of the governing councils of the various denominations have indorsed its principles, have commended its actions and have coöperated with it in its campaigns. More and more the Catholic Church is taking a positive stand against the saloon and thousands of Catholic as well as Protestant ballots are used against the traffic. Archbishop Ireland was one of the founders of the National Anti-Saloon League and many of the archbishops, bishops, priests and lay members of the Roman Catholic Church are most enthusiastic and potential warriors against the liquor traffic. Many citizens who are not members of the church and who are not even total abstainers themselves admit the evil of the American saloon and fight with the great army of moral reformers for its abolition.

This liquor war will not be over in a year or in a decade, nor possibly in a generation, but the American saloon is so un-American, has so little to commend itself to public favor, so much of vice and crime to provoke opposition, that it will have to go, for the advance in individual integrity and civic virtue will leave no place for it in an enlightened Christian civilization.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## THE DEARTH AND DECADENCE OF SHORT STORIES

IT may perhaps be news to many of the readers of the REVIEW to learn that there is a scarcity of short stories. To the average magazine subscriber, who is not inclined to be hypercritical, the usual proportion of pages seems to be devoted to this kind of writing; the stories themselves do not exhibit (to him) any striking evidence of deterioration; yet we are assured that there exists to-day "a veritable short-story famine," and, moreover, that the popular taste for short stories is changing for the worse. Mr. George Jean Nathan, writing in the *Bookman*, states that a few weeks ago the editor of one of the best known of the metropolitan magazines said to him:

I have been engaged in magazine work for the last twelve years and during this period have frequently been put to it to get good short stories for my publication; but never has the effort been more difficult, yes, seemingly more impossible, than at present. And to-day, I do not even put the entire emphasis on the adjective "good." I tell you frankly I am having great difficulty in getting short stories that may be characterized "fair," or even printable. Where short stories were sent in to me and submitted personally at the rate of at least fifty a week a year or two ago, to-day less than one-fifth of that number come to my desk. This is actually a short-story famine year.

Several reasons for the shortage are advanced. Many short-story writers are now devoting themselves to the preparation of plays. Others find that the day of the character-study is over, and that the "murder-mystery-detective" species of story is more remunerative. Still others are turning their attention to the writing of serials. There is another important contributing factor to the present situation. We read:

Almost without exception, the standard magazines to-day insist on the so-called "uplift" stories. They do not care to consider stories of any other type, seemingly not realizing that if short-story writers are limited to the "uplift" style, the writing of short stories must become to a large degree mechanical, of a single monotonous strain, forced in style, and frequently abortive. To the writer who has other ambitions than a bank check, the arbitrary "uplift" dictum has proved odious and discouraging, and the result has been that writers of this class have ceased to apply themselves entirely to short stories, and have turned to novel

writing as a means to express honestly the best that is in them.

Another magazine editor informed Mr. Nathan that since O. Henry's death it has been utterly impossible to secure for his publication a short story that was original in any way. He added:

The discouragement of the younger short-story writers and the comparatively greater remuneration to be gained from the crime brand of fiction, has left the field almost wholly to the present so-called staple short-story men like Gouverneur Morris, Samuel Hopkins Adams, Chester, London, and their much-in-demand "big name" brothers.

There is good reason, too, for believing that the demand and immediate payment for the slap-dash style of brief fiction is largely responsible for the dearth of short stories possessing literary qualities. Mr. Nathan cites the following instructions actually issued by the editor of one of the largest circulating short-fiction magazines in America:

Give your reader action and plenty of it. Don't stop to polish up your stuff. Write it for quick consumption, just as you would dictate it to a telegraph operator if you were a newspaper reporter covering a late night story and had to rush it into your office to catch the "bulldog" edition.

The editor in question claimed that he paid his contributors well, and that they could turn in three stories on these lines in the time it would take them to write one for the more literary magazines.

While the editors of the "blood-and-thunder" magazines, however, say that the public wants *their* kind of stories, the editors of the standard periodicals maintain that the public wants "uplift" fiction. Support is lent to the latter view by the experience of "the editor of a well-known magazine with a large circulation in the Middle West," who several months ago sent to each of his subscribers a request for an opinion of the short stories that recently had appeared and were appearing in that publication. Nine out of ten of the replies stated that the subscribers were "sick and tired" of the "crime slant" of the stories, and asked the editor to give them relief. Another editor with whom Mr. Nathan dis-

cussed the situation expressed the opinion of the opinion that unless a story is uplifted in regard to the "uplift" side of it many of his fellow magazine editors "seem to be blindly following a certain weekly leader." But, whichever view is correct, the fact remains, that "there is a short-story that has gained a wide vogue through 'uplift' story famine stalking through magazine land fiction. . . . Many editors seem to be to-day."

## THE CURRENTS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AND THE SARGASSO SEA

FOR a long time careful study has been made of the North Atlantic currents by means of floating bottles; yet the wrecks of ships abandoned at sea have, like buoys, far greater value than bottles: sinking deeper, they are less affected by winds and are far more under the influence of the currents. Besides, being more readily observed,—some of them have been sighted as many as forty-five consecutive times in their wanderings over the ocean,—and reported by passing ships, their courses are traceable with a degree of certainty quite unattainable in the case of bottles, about which our sole information is the starting point and the place of recovery.

A recent paper in *Cosmos* comments upon the records published in *Pilot Charts* and the study of these by L. Perruchot in *Géographie*. The records cover a period of twenty-three years and describe the courses followed by some 157 derelicts. The conclusions arrived at by A. Hautreux also tend to change somewhat our notions regarding the Gulf Stream and the other currents of the North Atlantic, which together form a closed circuit about the Sargasso Sea.

The Gulf Stream proper, after leaving the American coast at Cape Hatteras, does not take a course toward the northeast and Europe, as is often indicated on maps, but toward the east and the Azores. Near the latter islands it comes under the influence of northerly winds and turns toward the south and southeast, becoming the Canaries Current. The warm currents which reach the coasts of Ireland and Norway, are only offshoots, accidental dependencies of the Gulf Stream, caused by west and southwest winds, and not by the pressure of the waters coming from the Florida coast.

The courses followed by derelicts show something not indicated on any charts,—the existence of a current counter to the Gulf Stream, and to the right of it, between Bermuda and the Bahamas, moving south-

The movements of these currents are more complex than is usually assumed. The water does not hurry along steadily in one direction: gusts of wind and storms produce marked changes of direction, delays, reversals, which render the courses followed by derelicts very complicated. As a result, the velocity of the mass of the water must be far greater than that shown by floating bottles: in the middle of the North Atlantic the rate of drift of derelicts is four or five times as great as that possessed by small floating objects. The velocity of the current varies with the season: for the streams that sweep around the Sargasso Sea it is least in the winter and greatest in the summer. In the case of the Gulf Stream, near Cape Hatteras, it ranges all the way from ten to seventy miles per day. In mid-Atlantic it averages eighteen miles per day, with a minimum of ten and a maximum of thirty. Near the Azores the currents moving south and southeast vary in speed from nine to thirty miles per day. Finally, the North Equatorial Current averages ten miles daily in winter and twenty in summer. It is to be noted that the greatest velocities are produced when the southeast trade winds of the southern hemisphere come farthest north.

Turning now to the Sargasso Sea, we find another cherished legend of the ocean in danger of annihilation at the hands of scientific explorers. Sailors formerly maintained that in a vast region of the North Atlantic, there existed what was called the Sargasso Sea,—a mass of marine vegetation floating upon the surface, so dense and unyielding that sailing ships so unlucky as to become caught in it were held for an indefinite time, unable to escape. Maury, the American geographer, whose work was of such value in navigation, himself accepted these reports without proper evidence being put forward

in their behalf. The Norwegian Department of Fisheries has of late sent out upon the ship *Michael-Sars* a scientific expedition whose mission was to study the Sargasso Sea. According to the *Yacht*, the results are as follows:

Approximately, the position of the Sea coincides with that of the anticyclone which generally prevails over the North Atlantic. Around this centre of high pressure the wind and the surface currents revolve in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a watch. Naturally, vegetation, originally drawn from the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico in stormy weather, moves along the same route, now and then crossing the Gulf Stream and approaching the coast of the United States. This vegetation will most likely be met with south of the 40th parallel of the northern

hemisphere, between the meridian of the Azores and that of Charleston. Except in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico, it rarely makes its way south of the 10th parallel.

The plants are brown seaweed of the family of the *fucaceæ*. They bear small vesicles or spherical floats which the old navigators likened to grapes, from whose name, *sarga*, was formed the noun Sargasso. The quantity of this weed to be seen is very great during the late summer, shortly after the season of frequent storms in the Gulf of Mexico. The plants float at the surface for five or six months before they decay and sink to the bottom. But the tales of floating masses capable of stopping the progress of ships are, according to the reports of the Norwegian expedition, quite fantastic.

## RAILROAD FARES AT HOME AND ABROAD

**I**N making a comparison of railway travel at home and abroad three essential factors must be taken into account: comfort, cost, and speed. As to the first of these, the opinions of travelers differ widely. The majority of Americans traveling abroad do not take kindly to the small compartments of European railway coaches, while the European traveling in the United States longs for the cosy section—holding generally five or six persons—in which he is accustomed to journey on the railroads of his own country. But with regard to the other two factors opinions have nothing to do; for the questions of cost and speed are questions of fact. In a recent issue of the *Official Railway Guide* some illuminating figures are presented in this connection which cannot fail to be of interest to the thousands of our citizens who are wont to travel extensively on the other side of the herring-pond.

The accompanying two tables, showing the charges upon railways in Europe and the United States respectively, are, it is asserted, based on notes made by a traveler of experience in journeying through a territory in Europe of about 600 by 900 miles and a corresponding area in this country. The fares cited are those "charged for tickets on each continent, such as an ordinary passenger purchases in traveling from place to place. In no instance was a train *de luxe* included." Inasmuch as sleeping-car fares are considerably higher in Europe than in America, the cost of traveling is reckoned for day-time only.

ROUTES IN EUROPE

Route	Miles	Speed of Train. Miles per hour	First-Class Fare	Bag-gage Charge	Total Charge	Cents per mile
1	94	20.14	\$ 3.82	\$0.92	\$4.74	5.0
2	152	26.82	5.57	1.27	6.84	4.5
3	413	32.39	13.46	2.92	16.38	3.9
4	73	25.82	2.04	.81	2.85	3.9
5	165	31.43	5.92	1.62	7.54	4.6
6	497	24.85	18.09	5.66	3.75	4.7
7	168	34.76	5.47	1.32	6.79	4.0
8	264	37.71	11.02	2.69	13.71	5.2
9	38	28.50	1.59	.41	2.00	5.3
10	112	39.53	3.40	.66	4.06	3.6
11	718	49.69	6.17	1.14	7.31	4.1
Total ..		2,154	Av. 30.41	\$76.55	\$19.42	\$95.97
						Av. 4.5

ROUTES IN NORTH AMERICA

Route	Miles	Speed of Train. Miles per hour	First-Class Fare	Parlor Car Fare	Total Charge	Cents per mile
1	115	35.38	\$ 2.50	\$0.60	\$3.10	2.7
2	125	38.46	2.30	.50	2.80	2.2
3	396	36.00	11.90	2.00	13.90	3.5
4	85	42.50	1.70	.35	2.05	2.4
5	317	28.82	7.05	1.00	8.05	2.5
6	411	42.16	8.00	2.00	10.00	2.4
7	116	33.14	3.50	.50	4.00	3.4
8	284	40.57	5.50	1.00	6.50	2.3
9	40	40.00	1.00	.25	1.25	3.1
10	90	45.00	2.25	.50	2.75	3.0
11	232	41.18	4.75	1.00	5.75	2.5
Total ..		2,211	Av. 38.62	\$50.45	\$9.70	\$60.15
						Av. 2.7

The statistics given are for eleven different journeys in Europe, varying from 38 to 497 miles, and for a similar number in America, ranging from 40 to 411 miles. It will be seen that the net results are as follows:

Traveling first-class, 2,154 miles in Europe, at 30.4 miles per hour, with an average of 168 pounds of baggage, cost \$95.97, or 4.5 cents per mile.

Traveling first-class, 2,211 miles in North America, at 38.6 miles per hour, with an average of 168 pounds of baggage, including reserved seat in parlor car, would cost \$60.15, or about 2.7 cents per mile.

The cost of railway traveling in Europe is, therefore, over 55 per cent. higher than in North America, or, as the *Guide* puts it:

A passenger with a trunk in Europe would travel first-class 500 miles in 16 hours and 27 minutes at a cost of \$22.25; while a passenger in North America with the same baggage would travel in a parlor car 500 miles in 12 hours and 56 minutes at a cost of \$14.30.

In the matter of speed, too, the advantage is with the United States; for, although the highest rate—49.69 miles per hour on a jour-

ney of 178 miles—is conceded to Europe, the total average speed is 38.62 miles per hour in the United States as against 30.41 miles per hour in Europe.

Much of the travel in Europe is in second- and third-class compartments, the former corresponding to the ordinary first-class coach in America. Third-class accommodations have no parallel in this country, and need not be considered here. For second-class travel the following results are given by the *Guide*:

The cost of traveling 2,154 miles second class in Europe, at 30.4 miles per hour, with an average of 168 pounds of baggage is \$69.26, or 3.21 cents per mile.

The cost of traveling 2,211 miles first class in America, at 38.6 miles per hour, without parlor car seat, with an average of 168 pounds of baggage is \$51.86, or 2.41 cents per mile.

In view of the figures here presented, and remembering that in the important item of baggage the advantage is altogether on the side of the United States, it would seem, as the *Guide* justifiably remarks, that the American people have no just cause to complain of the cost of traveling by rail in their own country.

## NEW YORK TO BREST—THE NEW TRANS-ATLANTIC ROUTE

A STRONG plea for using Brest as a Transatlantic port is made by the anonymous writer of an article in the *Revue de Paris*.

The majority of passengers who annually embark from Europe to New York, this writer reminds us, desire to make the sea voyage as short as possible, and they willingly pay a rather higher price for the quickest boats, not to mention the vanity of being able to boast of having traveled by "the fastest and finest ship in the world." The number of such passengers would alone suffice to explain the competition of the German and English Transatlantic companies for the record of speed. The other passengers, less pressed for time, demand more luxurious arrangements, similar to those of large hotels, and to meet this demand the White Star Line Company has built the *Olympic* with 45,000 tons register and a speed of only twenty-one knots, against the twenty-five knots of the *Mauretania*. These were intended to be the largest vessels in the world.

Meanwhile the Hamburg-American Line is building a huge vessel with 50,000 tons' register and a speed of twenty-two knots, and

more recently the Cunard Company gave out a contract for the construction of a liner equal in size to the projected German vessel, but with a speed of twenty-three knots. It will be longer and narrower, but will have the same tonnage. So that no matter whether the *clientèle* consists of people who require the greatest possible speed or not, the navigation companies now find themselves obliged to construct larger and larger boats, which means that there must be more ports able to accommodate them.

From 1890 onward dredging operations at New York have been carried out at different times, and boats of the largest dimensions can now easily enter the harbor. But the Transatlantic ports of France do not satisfy the conditions of present-day requirements. While England and Germany have done a great deal, France has lagged far behind. The fleet of the French General Transatlantic Company cannot be compared for speed with its English and German rivals. Much might be done to insure quicker service between Cherbourg and New York. Moreover, Cherbourg is sixty miles nearer than Havre.

What France needs is a port able to accommodate the large boats of to-day and the larger boats of to-morrow, and a port to which access is easily possible at all times. Brest is the only port which satisfies those conditions. From Brest to New York it is also a shorter sea distance than from Fishguard to New York. The distances are given thus:

## DISTANCE TO NEW YORK

	DISTANCE TO NEW YORK
Brest	2,950 miles.
Fishguard	2,980 "
Holyhead	3,030 "
Cherbourg	3,090 "

Southampton	3,110 miles.
Liverpool	3,130 "
Havre	3,150 "

All that is necessary to make Brest a fine Transatlantic port is some dredging operations, which would not be very costly. The Paris to Brest railway already exists, and only a very short extension would be required. At present the journey from Paris takes ten hours, but with fewer stops it could be reduced to eight. With such an accelerated railway journey not only passengers from France to New York, but those from Central Europe, would avail themselves of the service.

## ADVENT OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL OPERA

IN commenting on the fact that the latest works of three of the most prominent living composers (Puccini, Humperdinck, and Mascagni) have recently been produced in this country for the first time on any stage, Mr. Andreas Dippel, in a recent address in Chicago, remarked that whereas hitherto "the pilgrimage of American managers to Europe has been the rule, the time is coming, and fast indeed, when the directors and stage managers of European opera houses will come to this side of the Atlantic to obtain their inspiration for the production of new operas abroad." But this is not all about the future of opera in America. Mr. Dippel, who is the best of authorities, maintains that there is a higher aim for which he and others are striving.

That is, the American national opera: American in the full meaning of the word, American as to the performing artists, to the works which shall be performed, and to the language in which they shall be sung. But a few years ago this would have been considered a beautiful but idle dream of a distant future. To-day it is a tangible idea, worthy of serious discussion.

Until now there have been several hindrances to the realization of American national opera. First among these was the scarcity of American artists of the requisite caliber. To-day American artists are found among star singers not only in America, but on the opera stages of the most important centers of music in the Old World. Another difficulty has been that of finding operas composed by Americans and worthy of recognition as real examples of operatic art. This, too, has been disposed of. Mr. Dippel announced to his audience that a grand opera by Victor Herbert was to be produced in New

York "very soon"; and further that, in competition for a prize of \$10,000 offered by the Metropolitan Opera House for an opera "the libretto and also the music of which was to be written by an author born in America," no fewer than thirty works meeting all the imposed conditions had been submitted.

Then again there is the question of language. In this connection Mr. Dippel says:

There is no doubt that there is room for improvement in enunciating the English language for musical purposes. Aside from this, however, it is sufficient to remind you that it has been clearly demonstrated by artists of foreign nationality that it is not the English language which is at fault in reproducing the musical elements of songs. Marcella Sembrich, Johanna Gadski and Alessandro Bonci—I am just mentioning a few names—when singing songs in the English tongue have enunciated the words so admirably that everybody in the audience understood them thoroughly.

It has been recognized by the most prominent European authorities as well as by Americans that it is an error to assume that the English language is not sufficiently musical to be used in grand opera. There is no reason whatever why the works of Richard Wagner, of which we possess splendid translations, should not be sung in English, provided we succeed in training our singers as we are trying to do; that is, to pay as much attention and give as much care to their enunciation as they do to the development of their voices.

Thus the artist's dream of an American national opera is becoming more and more a reality. Whereas a few years ago it was only New York that could boast a permanent home for grand opera, to-day Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston have copied and still other cities will follow New York's example. And the general evolution of conditions is such that one may say without hesitation that the time is ripe for the realization of an American national opera.

## THE NEED OF ENGINEERS IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

THE Budget Exhibit, held in New York during the month of October, 1910, was a new thing in municipal administration; it has been described as "a picture-book of the activities of a great corporation," showing the taxpayers just where their money went. The origin of the Exhibit is thus related by Mr. Herbert T. Wade in the *Engineering Magazine*:

The inspiration for this exhibition came from attempts made in 1908 and 1909 by the Bureau of Municipal Research to present to the public by charts and diagrams some significant information in connection with the preparation of the annual budgets of those years. These simple displays were termed budget exhibits, and showed the importance of the work of the bureau, a private agency maintained through the interest of public-spirited citizens to study and investigate matters dealing with municipal administration.

These budget exhibits resulted in arousing public interest in municipal economics, and they also secured a closer analysis by the heads of departments of the items in their requests for appropriations. The good effect of the publicity thus given to municipal matters continued to be increasingly evident, and at length it was decided by the city authorities to hold a similar exhibit in connection with the 1911 budget and to extend its scope. We quote again from Mr. Wade:

The city departments were informed that they could add to their exhibits prepared for the budget proper, physical objects such as apparatus and equipment, photographs and other material that would afford an interesting illustration of work in the various fields of municipal activity. With no attempt at uniformity or standardization there was naturally wide diversity of method and this added to the interest of the spectator. Thus in some departments the exhibits were essentially spectacular and of direct popular appeal, as the prize-winning and notable horses of the Street Cleaning and Fire Departments stabled in the basement along with the most modern apparatus of these departments. In other cases the statistical charts and diagrams were supplemented by complete collections of photographs, while in others actual work of testing was in progress. Especially interesting were the exhibits of those departments where objects of historical importance or illustrative of types were shown.

How broad the scope of the Exhibit was may be gathered from a mere enumeration of some of the charts shown. These included: budget appropriations, borough president's office, Manhattan, 1902 (\$1,840,787.32) to 1911 (\$2,567,409.35); the channels of the city's income and outgo; organization chart of the Bureau of Sewers, Brooklyn; decrease in

fatal street-car accidents following the use of safety devices; aqueducts and pipe lines delivering 80 per cent. of the water supply of Greater New York; some of the sewers of New York (a standard trolley-car drawn to scale is shown, for comparison, standing in one of them); electric lamp-posts. As a means to the study of municipal efficiency or non-efficiency the Budget Exhibit was invaluable. Beginning with the organization of the city government, the citizens were shown diagrammatically the interrelation of the various departments and the accountability of officials and subordinate bureaus. The sources of the city's income; the machinery of assessment; the mechanism of municipal expenditure as provided by the city's charter; the consideration to be given to any proposal for a public franchise—all these were graphically outlined for the visitors to the Exhibit. As bearing on the question of corruption in the purchase of supplies and equipment, reference may be made especially to the exhibition by the Fire Department of a large number of objects illustrating every-day supplies, to each of which was attached a tag stating the price paid. In this department also it was shown that "a year's trial had demonstrated that a motor hose wagon could be maintained at practically the cost of shoeing one of the three horses required for a similar horse-drawn vehicle." In the Bureau of Repairs and Supplies it was shown that the bureau had been able to save from the appropriation of \$912,899 for 1910, no less than \$135,000, a gratifying instance of economy.

But, after stating the various lessons to be learned from the Exhibit, the strong point made by Mr. Wade in his article is the evidence of the absolute necessity of placing competent engineers in the positions of highest administrative authority. The editors of the *Engineering Magazine*, in a foreword to Mr. Wade's paper, point out that during the last thirteen years over 70 per cent. of the revenues from the issues of city corporate stock has been expended on permanent engineering works, and that never before have engineering problems been so prominent in the administration of a large city as shown in the New York Budget Exhibit for 1910. Besides the new Catskill aqueduct in course of construction, involving an estimated outlay of some \$160,000,000, there is the department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity,

and, above all, the Department of Bridges, which not only has four of the largest bridges in the world to look after, but is engaged in building one of the largest office buildings in the City of New York, to provide a terminal for the subway trains crossing to Brooklyn as well as to house many of the city offices,—a simple example of municipal finance. As Mr. Wade says:

In practically every department of the city the work of the engineer and architect is encountered at least in providing the necessary buildings and plant, even if their services are not demanded for the operation. This is shown in the departments of Education, Health, and the various corrective and charitable institutions, of which Bellevue and allied hospitals may be taken as typical for the interesting exhibit that they made of their work and equipment, accompanied by requests for additional appropriations in order to extend it further.

## IS SAFETY KEEPING PACE WITH LUXURY IN OCEAN TRAVEL?

**A**T the present time there is being exhibited in New York City by one of the transatlantic steamship companies a model, complete to the minutest detail, of one of the enormous twin liners in course of construction for passenger service. The model itself is a thing of beauty, leaving no room for doubt as to what the actual ships will be—the finest vessels afloat. No expense is to be spared to attain every conceivable comfort that a man or a woman of means can possibly ask for. According to reports at hand, these new liners will have, among other things:

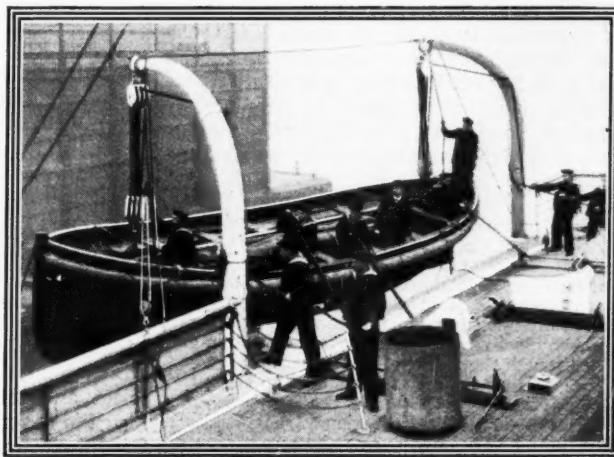
Staterooms with private shower baths; a swimming pool large enough to permit of diving; a ballroom comprising an entire upper deck, which will serve also as a skating rink; a gymnasium abundantly equipped with modern paraphernalia; a café so arranged on one of the upper decks as to render the illusion of a café at a seaside resort as realistic as possible; a grillroom suggesting an old English chop-house, with high-backed stalls and broad, low tables, and a sun-deck representing a flower-garden protected by a glass roof and decked with a large variety of tropical plants and foliage.

This is fascinating reading for the average man, who takes it for granted that the steamship company, besides providing the luxurious comforts enumerated, has done everything to insure the safety of passengers in case of shipwreck, and that the boats, rafts, life-belts, etc., are the best that money, experience, and inventive genius can supply. Does the steamship company deserve the confidence and trust thus reposed in it by the public? Mr. E. K. Roden, writing in the *Navy*, says he believes this question

of sufficient importance to warrant the placing of it for a moment or two in the lime-light of fair, considerate investigation.

Of several points maintained by this writer, the first is that a ship should be "absolutely independent of assistance from without, because conditions might be such as to place the ship in a position where *she must rely on her own resources*." But it may be asked, "How, in these days of watertight compartments, can a ship of modern construction sink?" In reply, it will be sufficient to cite some shipwrecks mentioned by Mr. Roden.

The Pacific liner *Dakota*, equipped with 12 bulkheads, sank off the coast of Japan. The *Columbia*, having four watertight bulkheads—one more than required by law in a ship of her size—went down within eleven minutes after being struck, by the *San Pedro*, off the Mendocino coast. The White Star liner *Republic*, equipped with bulkheads and every device for closing her watertight doors, etc., sank, after collision with the *Florida*, off the shoals of Nantucket.



DRILL ON ONE OF THE LARGE OCEAN LINERS IN THE LOWERING OF A LIFE-BOAT

Experience teaches that it is impossible to least, and as a result, the shipowner is in build an unsinkable ship; lifeboats should therefore form the main auxiliary on which dependence is to be placed in case of wreck. Mr. Roden says he is safe in asserting that not more than two-thirds of the passengers carried by the large ships could be accommodated in the boats and rafts. That the steamship companies do not profess to carry sufficient boats to rescue every one is shown by the following letter from the line operating the *Baltic*, the steamer which rescued the passengers and crew of the ill-fated *Republic*. It was published in the *New York Herald*, January 27, 1909:

It is a well-known fact that it is impossible for a steamship in passenger service to carry enough lifeboats to accommodate all hands at once. If this were done, so much space would be utilized for lifeboats that there would be no room on deck for the passengers. The necessary number of lifeboats would be carried at the cost of many of the present comforts of our patrons.

Another factor of safety to which steamship companies ought to give more attention is that of the davits now in common use. Even with a list of but three or four degrees it is difficult to get boats clear of the high side, and the boat capacity of the ship is thus practically reduced one-half. Then again, in the matter of lifeboats and life-preservers there is strong temptation to the shipbuilder to buy his material where it costs him the

many cases furnished with the cheapest kind of material. While ships are growing bigger and bigger, the perils of the sea grow no less, as is shown by a table of losses of life during the past twenty-four years, presented by Mr. Roden in his article. The lowest loss was 252 in 1900, and the highest, 1454 in 1904. To reduce the loss of life to a minimum the coöperation of the shipowner and his willingness to adopt appliances tested and approved by competent authorities must be enlisted. The advertising columns of the marine journals show that there are on the market:

Modern davits by which the heaviest loaded lifeboat can be launched in any weather, whether the ship is listed or not; the line-carrying projectile by means of which a line can be thrown from a stranded ship to the shore for use in rigging the breeches buoy; life preservers that cannot rot; the collapsible lifeboat that, when folded, takes up but one-third the space of an ordinary boat, and other innovations tending to increase the safety of travel by sea.

If the shipbuilders would incur the comparatively small extra expense involved in fitting their new ships with these appliances the advantages to themselves as well as to their patrons would soon be apparent. And, as Mr. Roden remarks, the sooner the realization of this fact is reached, the better for all concerned.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND

THE leaders of the woman-suffrage movement in England can scarcely be considered jubilant over their campaign at the last general election. The *London Review of Reviews* publishes an article by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in which that lady says:

The balance of parties is practically unchanged by the recent election, and I think it is therefore evident that the practical solution of the Women's Suffrage question must still be sought on non-party lines, *i. e.*, that no suffrage measure which effectively alienated support from one or other of the two chief parties would have a chance of getting through the House of Commons.

Some of our Suffrage friends take an extremely gloomy view of the result of the Suffrage candidatures promoted by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies during the recent General Election. Of course, in the two constituencies where the Suffrage candidates went to the poll the number of votes they received was insignifi-

cant, but I cannot feel that this small poll is any real measure of the effect of the candidatures.

Writing in the *Englishwoman* also, Mrs. Fawcett holds that the leader of the new government is publicly pledged "to give facilities in the new Parliament for effectively proceeding with a women's suffrage bill, if so framed as to admit of amendment." She admits that while "there is not a shadow of evidence that the existing electorate considers it any drawback to a candidate that he has identified himself with the Suffrage movement," there is a great deal of evidence "that committees and caucuses when they are choosing candidates are just as ready to select an Anti-Suffragist as a Suffragist." Much is naturally made of the result of the Cardiff election, at which the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association, numbering 800 members, refused to work for the Anti-Suffra-



SUFFRAGETTES DETAINED UNDER GUARD IN THE YARD OF BOW STREET STATION, LONDON

gist Liberal candidate, thereby causing the election of the Unionist nominee.

The London *Review of Reviews* prints also an interview with the well-known suffragist, Mrs. Pankhurst. Her interviewer says:

I asked Mrs. Pankhurst to explain the policy followed by the Women's Social and Political Union at the recent election.

"It is very simple," she said; "our whole force was thrown against the Liberal Government, and in those constituencies in which the Liberal majority at the last election was small. We took precisely the same position that Mr. Parnell took in the 1885 election when he instructed his supporters in England to vote against Mr. Gladstone's followers because of the action of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet toward the Home Rule agitation during the years they had been in office, and because he refused to give a satisfactory pledge for the future. As to the result as a whole you must remember we have never pretended that Woman Suffrage was the dominating issue for the bulk of the electors in this contest. What we do claim is that the force we were able to bring to bear was superimposed on the other forces which were at work in such a way that it often turned the balance against the Liberal candidate."

Asked if she considered that the suffragists' policy had been justified by results, Mrs. Pankhurst replied:

"Yes; I think I may say that if we had stood aloof the Liberals would have had some thirty seats more, giving them a majority of over 180.

As it is, they come back without gaining a single seat, or perhaps just one."

An article in the *Englishwoman* by Miss Clementina Black gives some details of the method of collecting signatures to the Voters' Petition for the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women. We read:

By far the greatest number of signatures were obtained outside polling-stations on the day of election. Many women spent from eight to twelve hours standing out of doors, generally in rain or snow, and invariably in very cold weather, appealing to voter after voter, as he came in or out, to sign the petition. . . . British men are not, as a class, imaginative; things out of sight are also out of mind. On this occasion the voteless women were in evidence; the man who went in to vote saw them, visibly and literally shut out—old women, young women, smart women, shabby women, all quiet and peaceful, asking persistently for the right of citizenship. As he came out, he saw them again, chilled, wet, patient, uncomplaining, appealing with their papers and their purple pencils for the support of his name.

As soon as possible after the election the petition is sent to the newly returned Member; and, says this writer, "if that gentleman happens to have gained his seat by a majority considerably smaller than the number of his constituents who have signed, the lesson of the petition is likely to go home."

## A VISIT TO THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS



KEIKI, PRINCE TOKUGAWA, THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS

(Still living in retirement near Tokyo)

If the seeker after information concerning the history of Japan should consult a cyclopedia for enlightenment as to the meaning of the word "shogun," he would probably gather the following ostensible facts: that the title (meaning "generalissimo") was adopted in early times in Japan for the commander of each of the four divisions of the Empire; that in 1192 the title "Sei-I-Tai-Shogun" (Barbarian-subduing Great General) was conferred upon Yoritomo Minamoto; that in the Tokugawa family, founded in 1603, the Shogunate became independent of the Emperor and *de facto* ruler of the country; that for several years after 1853 the Shogun was known to foreigners as the Tycoon; and that the office was abolished in 1868—all of which would be true enough with this addition, namely, that Keiki, the last of the Shoguns, really abdicated. The Tokugawa line produced fifteen shoguns; and it was the thirteenth of these, Iesada, who yielded to Commodore Perry's demands and made the treaty under which ports of Japan were opened to the Western world.

Keiki is still living in Japan; and Professor Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, gives in *The World To-day* an account of a

visit to him. Speaking of the events which led to Keiki's abdication, he says:

The treaties signed by the Yedo Government [the Shogunate] without the approval of the Emperor, gave ground for complaint. Anti-foreign feeling flourished. . . . Serious complications arose with foreign governments; the whole land was in turmoil. A Hideyoshi or an Ieyasu might have stemmed the tide; Iesada and Iemochi [his successor] could not. Revolution was in the air; the imperial restoration was the order of the day, an irrepressible conflict threatened. Then came Keiki—in 1866; in 1867 the Mikado Komai died, and the young Mitsuhiro [now still reigning] became the emperor in Kyoto. Open hostilities existed. Keiki abdicated; Mitsuhiro became absolute ruler, and, removing the imperial court from Kyoto to Yedo, renamed the old Shogun's capital, Tokyo.

Professor Starr says he had long wondered what manner of man Keiki really was: "Was he a coward, poltroon, imbecile, or a brilliant example of courage, loyalty, and abnegation?" What had moved him to abdicate?

He was at the time but thirty years of age, rich, legitimately seated, with powerful supporters. Whole provinces were in hostility; the public clamored for the restoration of the Mikado; but Keiki had a fighting chance. . . . Was it irresolution and cowardice, or was it an example of that supreme abnegation which is not uncommon among Japanese?

The Professor visited Keiki at his private house, a typical Japanese home of the wealthier class. The retainer who received the party ushered them into a reception room, expensively but cheerlessly fitted out.

Three chairs were ranged in line on one side of the table for myself, interpreter, and photographer, and on the other side a single chair for our host. . . . A silver dish heaped up with great blocks of sponge cake was conspicuously waiting the foreign guests. We were scarcely seated when the Prince entered; an old man with kindly face and gentle manner. He was dressed in pure Japanese costume, and the famous Tokugawa crest appeared upon his *haori* or ceremonial coat. He received us with quiet dignity and at once served us tea and sponge cake. The tea was creamed and sugared—in Japan and the ex-Shogun's house! We . . . expressed appreciation of the beautiful development of arts and letters under his family's patronage . . . and expressed our unwillingness to return to America without paying our respects. In reply he spoke his appreciation of our visit and good wishes for our home-journey. While we spoke, his youngest son appeared: he is a student at the Imperial University and speaks some English. . . . Before we left, in accordance with a promise, the old Prince was photographed out in the garden. After the picture had been taken I produced my large Japanese autograph album and asked the Prince to write upon the first page, the page of honor. . . . Like every Japanese,

he stated that his chirography was very bad; it would spoil my beautiful book. After some hesitation he promised he would send the album to my house in two days.

When Professor Starr received his album, the old Prince had not written in it, but had written a poem upon a strip of paper suitable

for a *kakemono* or hanging scroll. The poem, freely rendered, says: "Outside, the forest snow melts; the mountain in front glows with brilliant coloring; against the southern sky, the bamboo." Professor Starr regards the Prince as a man "who made one of the great renunciations of history."

## MANZANILLO, THE NEW GATEWAY TO MEXICO

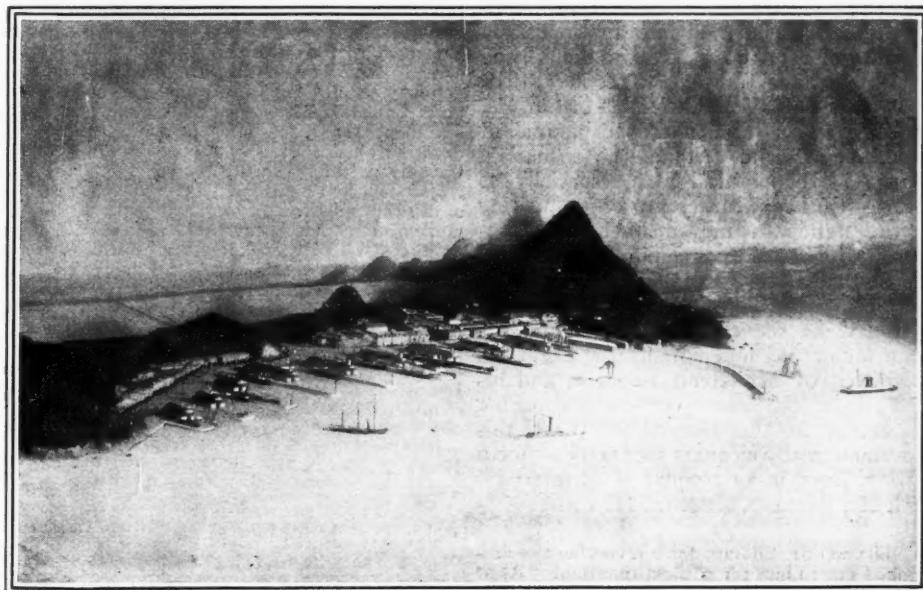
**A**MONG the many monuments of President Diaz's long rule in Mexico, few will testify so strikingly to the wisdom and foresight of his government as the titanic constructions in the harbor of Manzanillo, which have transformed a storm-swept bay into a secure haven wherein a hundred ships may ride at anchor, and have raised Manzanillo itself to the proud position of chief port of Mexico. Manzanillo, on the Pacific shore, lies almost midway between Mazatlan on the north and Salina on the south; it is also a halfway station between the city of Panama and San Francisco, and will undoubtedly profit more than any other Mexican port from the opening of the Panama Canal; and, being connected with the capital by the extension of the Mexican Central Railway, it has become of national importance and a new gateway to Mexico.

It is nearly eleven years since the harbor improvements at Manzanillo were begun—improvements upon which \$8,000,000 (silver)

have already been disbursed and \$6,000,000 are still to be expended. An account of this gigantic undertaking appears in *Cassier's*. The writer, Mr. Harry H. Dunn, states that the work was intrusted by the Mexican Government to Col. Edgar K. Smoot, who had built the Galveston jetties, and that the contract called for:

1. Construction of a breakwater.
2. Dredging of the protected area to a uniform depth.
3. Construction of sea-walls to a height of 3 meters above mean tide.
4. Sanitation of Cuyutlan Lagoon, to give the lagoon connection with the sea at a point known as Ventanas (the windows).

Items 1 and 3 called for immense quantities of durable stone; and, fortunately, a deposit of excellent blue granite was discovered on the Colomo estate, about 9 kilometers from Manzanillo. Rail connection was made with the port, and an incline built down which the blocks were delivered directly to the wharf and breakwater. We condense from Mr.



VIEW OF THE COMPLETED PORT OF MANZANILLO

Dunn's description some interesting details of the building of the breakwater.

The breakwater, which rises from a base 315 feet wide, a solid mass of rockwork absolutely impregnable to the action of the waves, is 26 meters high, and tapers to a crown 8 meters in width. It extends 441 meters out into the sea, and is so constructed that it presents an oblique face to the waves. The monoliths of which part of it is composed are probably the heaviest blocks of granite ever placed by the hand of man, and weigh from 30 to 60 tons each. These cap the outer surface of the breakwater, which below is faced with 30-ton blocks of concrete. The interior slope is capped with granite and concrete blocks of from 5 to 15 tons each. No finer or more effective protection for a harbor was ever carried out.

The sea-walls for the town of Manzanillo have a total extent of more than a mile; and behind them more than 30,000 square meters have been reclaimed from the harbor by depositing coral and other material dredged from the bay.

The completion of the Manzanillo extension of the Mexican Central Railway in December, 1908, opened the markets of Mexico to Pacific commerce, and gave her access to

the Pacific ports of the United States, British Columbia, Central and South America, and the Far East. During the past two years the commerce of Manzanillo has increased 600 per cent. and the steamship service in and out of the port is as good as that of any Pacific port, San Francisco not excepted. Manzanillo is also to have one of the most complete coaling-stations in the New World, with an initial capacity of 500 tons per hour.

As indicated above, works involving an expenditure of \$6,000,000 still remain to be carried out. These include an extension of 200 meters to the present breakwater and the construction of another breakwater having a total length of 1054 meters. The ends of the two will face each other with a distance of 1000 feet between them. The protected area of the harbor will then be increased to 319 acres, and great masonry wharves, each 750 feet long, will project from the sea-wall along the southern shore. The town of Manzanillo itself is also to be provided with perfect drainage and water systems, so that it may offer inducements of a residential nature.

## BOURASSA AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA

THE result of the Drummond and Arthabaska elections in the Province of Quebec at which a usual Government majority of 1200 was turned into an Opposition majority of over 200, has caused many good judges of political prospects to prophesy that, in the event of a general election in Canada, with the navy question as the paramount issue, there would certainly be a marked change in the political map, especially as regards Quebec. Mr. John Boyd, writing on the Nationalist movement, in the *Canadian Magazine*, is of the opinion that, while there were doubtless several causes which contributed to the defeat of the Government candidate at the election in question, the main factor was undoubtedly the campaign conducted by Mr. Henri Bourassa and his lieutenants, the leaders of the Nationalist movement in the Dominion. What this movement really means is succinctly set forth by Mr. Boyd in an account of an interview with Mr. Bourassa himself. He writes:

While he [Mr. Bourassa] was reviewing the situation, I put to him the straight question: "What is the object of the Nationalist movement?" His reply was equally pointed and unequivocal. "The

Nationalist movement," he said, "is what I may call the search for a common ground for all Canadians, and that common ground, I believe, can be found only in looking to the development of all our Canadian forces, mental, moral and material. You cannot, for instance, get all Canadians to agree in their views as regards Great Britain, but you may get all Canadians to agree on the building up of Canada and the creation of a truly national sentiment throughout the Dominion. And by devoting all our energies to the development of Canada we will, I hold, most effectively help to strengthen the Empire. . . . There is nothing of a racial, religious, or sectional character in the movement, as has been falsely represented; it is an appeal to all Canadians of good-will, whether they be French-speaking or English-speaking, to unite for the welfare of their common country. The movement is essentially Canadian. We want to put the issue perfectly straight—the largest measure of autonomy for Canada compatible with the maintenance of British connection. Let us build up a great country in which the rights of all shall be respected, let us carefully guard our autonomy, and we shall be rendering the best service not only to Canada, but to the whole Empire."

Mr. Bourassa was born in Montreal in 1868; at eighteen he removed to Montebello, of which city he was elected mayor from 1890 to 1894; in 1897 he was elected mayor of Papineauville; and in 1896 he was elected as

a Liberal to represent Labelle in the House of Commons. He resigned his seat in 1899, but was re-elected in 1900 and 1904, and in 1908 was returned by both St. James (Montreal) and St. Hyacinthe, defeating in the former division the prime minister of the province. He is the editor and director of the Montreal *Le Devoir*. To his power as an orator Mr. Boyd pays the following tribute:

Striking as is Mr. Bourassa's personality and charming as he is as a conversationalist, it is upon the hustings that his power is supreme. The Nationalist leader is essentially an orator—a great popular tribune. . . . Great as were Chapleau, Mercier, and Laurier in their days of power, not one of them could electrify a popular gathering as Mr. Bourassa can. Not only does he appear to be himself transformed, but it seems as if his eloquence hypnotizes the whole assemblage. I stood near him when he was addressing ten thousand people gathered on the place d'Armes to commemorate Dollard's heroic exploit; I was in the audience when he addressed twenty thousand people on the Champ de Mars, protesting against insults to the Christian faith; and I was on the platform when, following the Drummond and Arthabaska election, he received a great ovation from ten thousand of his countrymen gathered in the Ontario rink in Montreal. On all these occasions his power as an orator was conspicuous. He begins quietly, and, if you have never heard him before, you may be disappointed at the outset. But wait. It is not long before you are listening with interest, the spell of his voice has begun to work, and as he proceeds a

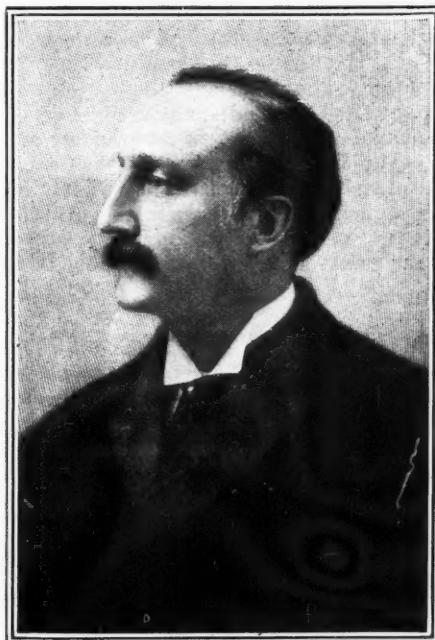


HENRI BOURASSA, LIBERAL LEADER OF THE FRENCH NATIONALISTS IN QUEBEC

wonderful change is wrought. . . . Some of his most eloquent periods are delivered as he leans over the railing of the platform, fixed and motionless, till, suddenly rising to his full height and seeming to become taller than he really is, he concludes with a burst of impassioned eloquence, directing his invective against his opponents, his words falling like hammer-strokes.

Mr. Bourassa does not indulge in anti-British utterances, as do some of his political contemporaries. On the contrary, addressing a great gathering of Canadians, he once said: "I am loyal to the traditions of the race from which I have sprung; but I am also loyal to the British flag, which we all love and admire."

Associated with Mr. Bourassa as lieutenants and fellow workers are Messrs. Armand Lavergne, one of the most effective campaign speakers in Quebec, Olivier Asselin, author of "A Quebec View of Canadian Nationalism: An Essay by a Dyed-in-the-Wool French-Canadian on the Best Means of Ensuring the Greatness of the Canadian Fatherland," Omer Heroux, Tancrede Mansell, and other devoted enthusiasts. A very important ac-



F. D. MONK, CONSERVATIVE LEADER OF THE NATIONALISTS IN QUEBEC

cession to the ranks of the Nationalists in the Drummond and Arthabaska campaign was Mr. F. D. Monk, M. P., one of those French-Canadian Conservatives who consider that the construction of the fleet proposed by the British Government is to be condemned as entailing a useless and ill-considered expenditure not calculated to help the Empire, while placing upon the Canadian people unfair responsibilities. Mr. Monk's contentions, briefly stated, are:

1. That the navy policy of the Government, the decisions of the Imperial Conference of 1902, the change in our relations with the Empire have intentionally been removed from all expression of

popular opinion and the freedom of that expression denied by the Government, though it was claimed by petition from many thousands of electors from every part of Canada.

2. That the construction of the fleet proposed by the Government is to be condemned as involving a useless and ill-considered expenditure not calculated to help the Empire and violating the principle of representation, while placing upon the Canadian people responsibilities which it was eminently unfair to ask of them to assume under such intolerable conditions.

3. That the enormous sums urgently needed at once for necessary works of development in Canada, such as canals, railways, and other aids to transportation must tax to the very utmost our available resources and credit and that the expenditure absolutely required for the navy could not now be undertaken.

## A NATIVE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR INDIA

THE Law Membership of the Supreme Executive Council of India is, to quote the *Hindustan Review*, "the most exalted and highest office yet thrown open to Indians"; and to this important position an appointment was made in November of last year which "has been welcomed by all shades of Indian public opinion." The new Law Member is the Hon. Syed Ali Imam, a native Indian, who for several years has held the leading position at the Indian bar. He was born in 1869, and is therefore a young man for the distinguished office he holds. Of

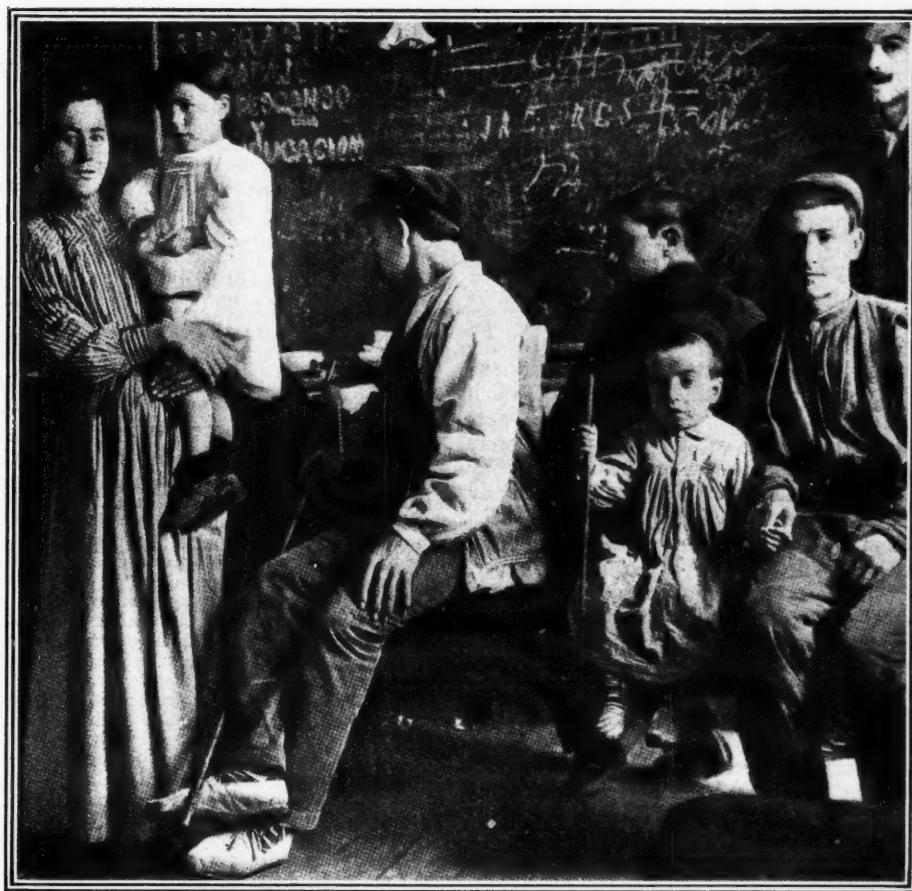
ancient ancestry, Mr. Ali Imam's forebears have, most of them, been prominent in public life; his great-grandfather and grandfather were both judges, and his father is one of the leading physicians in Behar and a brilliant poet to boot. Mr. Ali Imam completed his education in England, and was called to the English bar in 1890, in which year he returned to India, and at once devoted himself exclusively to the practice of law.

Of the many public positions to which Mr. Ali Imam has been elected perhaps the most important is that of the presidency of the All-India Muslem League. In 1909 Mr. Ali Imam visited England; and his addresses on "Indian Nationalism," at Cambridge, and on "The Work Before Us," at the Caxton Hall, London, were remarkable not only for their brilliancy, but also for the evidence they bore of the speaker's desire to promote Indian unity, as shown by such passages as the following:

I am first and foremost an Indian. . . . Mohammedans and Hindus ought to recognize that they should be Indians first, and Mohammedans and Hindus afterward. . . . Government by the people, for the people and through the people, is a very natural adjunct of government by the British. . . . English education has given us Indians a common language, common aspirations and a common patriotism, and it is desirable for the Mohammedans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India, united among themselves and united to Britain. . . . The sectarian aggressiveness which is rampant in our land is the great danger to the country; and all thoughtful Indians ought to put their foot down upon it, for the danger is not so much from without as from within. If in the coming reforms an iron wall is raised between Hindus and Musselmans, there would be an everlasting sacrifice of nationality.



HON. SYED ALI IMAM, THE FIRST NATIVE LAW MEMBER OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL



A SPANISH MINER AND HIS WIFE APPLYING FOR A HOME WHERE THEIR CHILD MAY BE RECEIVED DURING A STRIKE IN WHICH THE FATHER IS ENGAGED

(Reproduced from a photograph taken for *Blanco y Negro*, of Madrid)

## NOVEL STRIKE TACTICS IN SPAIN

**A** NEW method of insuring constancy among striking workmen has been adopted by a number of the Spanish labor unions. The new tactical measure, inaugurated during the recent strike of the miners in the Bilbao region, will be used hereafter by all the Spanish unions.

As is the case the world over, what tends most to break the resistance of the union men on strike is the presence at home of under-fed, perhaps sick, children for whom a protracted "lay off" means much suffering. According to an editorial article in *Blanco y Negro*, the illustrated weekly of Madrid, the Spanish labor leaders have hit upon a novel and effective method of removing the men from this influence. We are told that the

union likely to take part in a conflict secures lists of union men's homes whose heads are not burdened by too large a progeny. As soon as a strike is declared in a craft, strikers' children are taken care of by the families of workers in another craft. The additional expense of feeding one child is very slight and can be borne more easily by a family whose head is at work. It also establishes new bonds of sympathy between workers of the various trades.

While the Bilbao miners did not win the strike outright, they were enabled to wait for a fair settlement of their grievances, and the pitiful scenes which generally accompany a cessation of work in the mining districts were avoided.

## CODDLING THE CRIMINAL

UNDER this suggestive and appropriate title Mr. Charles C. Nott, Jr., Assistant District Attorney of New York, contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* a really valuable article on the present state of our criminal law, in which he sets forth the numerous safeguards which the law throws around persons accused of crime. Out of 6401 cases of felony disposed of in the county of New York, for example, in 1909, after various processes of winnowing down—e.g. 1342 dismissed by grand jury; 928 recommended discharged by district attorney; 481 bail forfeitures, etc., 3650 remained, in 2602 of which the defendants pleaded guilty. There were thus left 1048 cases; and 585 of these were acquitted by direction of the court or by verdict, leaving only 463 cases in which any mistake against a defendant could have been committed; and in each of these a jury of twelve men returned a verdict of guilty. Now the law still further safeguarded the rights of these men; for the right of appeal was allowed them while it was denied to the state in any cases in which it had been unsuccessful. The appalling amount of crime in the United States compared with other civilized countries, says Mr. Nott, is due to the fact that it is generally known that the punishment for crime is uncertain and far from severe. The uncertainty is largely due to the extension in our criminal jurisprudence of two principles of our common law, which were originally just and reasonable, but the present application of which is both unjust and unreasonable. These two principles are: that no man shall be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb for the same offense; and that no man shall be compelled to give evidence against himself. On the first of these Mr. Nott says:

It is obvious that the rule was intended to prevent a defendant's being arbitrarily retried after an acquittal—a purpose with which no one can find fault; and it is no less obvious that the rule never contemplated that a retrial should be granted to a defendant after the reversal on appeal of a conviction, but should be denied to the state after a reversal of an acquittal on appeal. In other words, the common law said to the state: "As neither side can appeal, a verdict either way shall settle the litigation, and you shall not continue trying a defendant over and over again until you obtain a favorable verdict." It did not say: "A retrial after a reversal of an acquittal is duly had in an appellate court constitutes the forbidden second jeopardy."

The fact that a defendant can appeal from a conviction, and can review on appeal all errors committed by the trial judge or any misconduct on the part of the district attorney, while the state can

take no appeal from an acquittal, no matter how glaring may be the errors of the trial judge or the misconduct of the defendant's attorney, has an enormous practical effect on the conduct of the trial. . . . It is a safe assertion that, under our present system, fully seventy-five per cent. of judgments of acquittal could be reversed on appeal for errors committed against the prosecution.

With regard to the second principle, that no man be compelled to give testimony against himself, Mr. Nott says "it is warped and stretched out of all reason and justice." It was "originally intended to prevent the use of the rack and the thumbscrew to wring a true confession from a guilty man, or a false confession from an innocent man."

What objection is there in reason to calling, through a magistrate, upon a defendant immediately upon his arraignment, to state his explanation, upon pain of being precluded from testifying upon the trial, if he refuse to give such explanation when required by the magistrate? . . . Today we have a practice under which an accused is made acquainted with the case against him, even to being furnished with the names of the witnesses who have testified against him before the grand jury; the accused stands mute save for his plea of "not guilty," and comes into court with a defense unknown to the prosecutor, and with witnesses whose names are not known to the district attorney until they are called to the stand, when, of course, it is too late (in the ordinary criminal trial) to investigate them. The defense knows that it has everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by getting into the case anything and everything favorable to the defendant, whether competent or not, and by trying to keep out everything unfavorable to him, no matter how material, relevant, and competent; the defendant's counsel knows that no misconduct on his own part will be subjected to judicial review and criticism, and a large proportion of the criminal bar customarily resort to methods in the preparation of their defenses and the trial of their cases which would not be tolerated on the part of the district attorney.

All of this state of affairs could, in Mr. Nott's judgment, be changed by two alterations of the law: the first granting a right of appeal to the state to review all errors committed upon the trial; and the second providing for an examination by the committing magistrate, and forbidding the defendant to take the stand upon his trial in case of his refusal to answer. Both sides would then come into court apprised respectively of the cause of action and the defense; the number of perjured defenses would decrease and the number of honest pleas would increase; and trials would be conducted with fairness to both sides and due regard to the law of evidence.

## ITALY, "A LAND OF CRISES"

TWO opinions prevail in Italy, several of the reviews of that country tell us, touching Italian financial conditions. Some call her the first country in the world. For others she is the last country on earth. She lacks both business ability and business honesty, the spirit of self sacrifice, and thrift. Both parties, however, agree perfectly when it comes to reaching forth for public funds, for the tax payers' money.

The first class needs funds to further optimistic schemes, the others "to dry up tears." In Italy, to quote *Economista dell'Italia Moderna* (Rome) whenever state intervention is mentioned, "you would think the state was a providential entity, whose mission is to come and help everybody; everyone forgets that the state is merely a trustee of the public treasury."

From every part of the country appeals are addressed to the state for help, for subventions, for support, things very easy to obtain. If only a goodly number of people get together, pull the right political wires and use their deputies judiciously, they always stand a good chance of seeing their little interests raised to the dignity of a national problem which the state will have to solve. From every point of the compass come groups of victims who must be succored; everywhere are heard moans and sobs over some industry or trade struck by a crisis. A crisis! This is the word which never fails to move the parliament, the government, the country. No longer is Italy the fair land of orange blossoms but the land of crises.

We have the crisis of the truck gardens,

says the writer of the article referred to, of the cotton crop, of the silk, of the wine, of the oil, to mention only those most talked about. Here is a typical example:

Last year, after two plentiful wine crops, the deepest anxiety was felt over the crisis of the wine industry, and the Government was called upon with the utmost insistence to grant subsidies to the viticulturists impoverished by abundant crops. This year a rather poor crop has been deemed sufficient cause for new lamentations, and has prompted certain people to demand a state intervention in favor of the same industry, which has only emerged from the crisis of overproduction to fall into a crisis of underproduction. The latter has enabled wine growers, however, to raise their prices and to recoup their losses. The consumer is left to make the cheerful observation that, while the crisis of overproduction did not lower the price of wine, the crisis of underproduction has brought about a sudden rise in prices.

The author adds in conclusions these vigorous words:

We cannot deny that there are cases when the paternal intervention of the State is desirable, provided the private interests at stake are in full harmony with the public weal; for instance, when a trade or industry finds itself for special reasons in temporary embarrassment. What must be curbed, however, is the mania for speculating on crises to which our country seems addicted, a mania which is allowed to spread by the facility and the promptness with which the money of the tax payers is placed at the disposal of those who beg cleverly under the pretence of fostering national interests.

## CATHOLICS AND CLERICALS IN ITALY

ITALIAN Catholics object strongly, a writer tells us in the *Rassegna Nazionale* of Rome, to the appellation of clericals bestowed upon them currently by their enemies. Clericalism belongs to the past; it is a dead issue, they claim. Says the writer:

When in 1870 the Italian troops entered Rome, all the Catholics devoted to the Pope arose and protested violently, declaring that Rome would soon, either through some foreign intervention or through a divine miracle be returned to her former ruler.

The Catholics of those times persisted in calling the King of Italy an usurper, thus ignoring the Roman plebiscite and the unanimous approval of the nation which made that usurpation as legitimate, if not in point of right at least in fact, as any other warlike conquest. Rome had simply passed into the hands of a new master and since no one was protesting any longer against France's losing Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, against Nice and Savoy having become French, why should it have been impossible for Rome to become Italian? To

this it was objected that the Pontiff deprived of his capital could not commune freely with the Catholic world. This was the type of clericalism which the liberals fought and have been fighting these past forty years. But during those forty years it has been demonstrated that reverence for the authority of the Pope was not irreconcilable with the exercise of the national sovereignty and that modern Italy can respect the Supreme Pontiff while leaving him perfectly free to shepherd the flock of Christ. . . .

The new Catholicism is very different from the old Clericalism of Don Marzotti and his companions, continues the *Rassegna*:

To-day no one speaks of returning Rome to the Pope and whenever a pontifical document makes mention of temporal claims, the august voice sounds rather timid; no one heeds the appeal for all know that it is only the echo of a past never to return, fortunately for Italy, and I may venture to add, fortunately for the Church. Catholics are ex-

panding their efforts on organization work and their awakening is truly marvelous. Everywhere we notice associations of many kinds, all modern in spirit and management, coöperative banks, people's houses, recreation centers for the young, etc.; there is no field which the Catholics have not entered, be it to help the poor, to educate the masses or to carry the word of Christ into the heart of society which has forgotten it. Catholicism is also gradually conquering the proletariat and will soon check the advance of socialism which inspires no more faith, having abused too long the confidence of the people. . . . The future will see two great parties pitted against each other, Liberals and Catholics on one side, Socialists and Republicans on the other.

This is, the author thinks, the reason why

so many attacks are directed against the Catholics, designated by their opponents as clericals.

Catholics were not considered as dangerous when they contented themselves with bemoaning the loss of the temporal power. . . . Now that they are devoting themselves to work fecund and beneficial, fanatics realize they have become a mighty ally of the conservative party. . . . We must not let the public believe, that we, the Catholics of to-day, are the Clericals of 1870. We love our fatherland and are ready to sacrifice our blood and life in its defence. Those who call themselves Catholics and do not look at the situation in this spirit are fanatics and we will have nothing to do with them.

## OUR ITALIAN PROBLEM

**W**HILE public attention has from time to time been attracted or directed to immigration perils, real or imaginary, in the West, there has been gradually growing up in the East, and more particularly in the City of New York, an immigration problem which, though not an insoluble one, is likely to call for considerable care in the handling: it is the Italian problem. Of the 2,000,000 or more Italians in the United States, more than 500,000 live in the City of New York; and at the present rate of increase it seems probable that in 1917 or 1918 the Italian population will number 1,000,000, or one-sixth of the residents, instead of one-eighth as to-day. What effect is this great tide of immigration likely to have upon the well-being of the City of New York in particular and of the country in general? This question is discussed in a remarkably able and exhaustive fashion by Dr. Alberto Pecorini in the January *Forum*. Dr. Pecorini, himself an Italian, took special courses at Columbia University, and was from 1904 to 1909 professor of Italian in the International College at Springfield, Mass. He has traveled extensively in the United States and made a special study of his countrymen from east to west. He is also head of the Italian-American Civic League for the promotion of the civic and social welfare of the Italians in New York. As of an Italian upon Italians his remarks have a special value; and the more so as he has treated his subject quite impartially both from the American and the Italian points of view.

Dr. Pecorini reminds his readers that there was a time when Italian immigrants were received with open arms in the American metropolis. This was what might be called the heroic period of Italian immigration—

"when Garibaldi lived in a poor framehouse on Staten Island and worked as a candle-maker in a shop in Bleeker Street." To-day the average American "feels somewhat uneasy when he thinks of the immense number of Italian immigrants crowding into New York and other large cities of the East; and the attraction of the public attention to the condition of the Italian quarters, the personal appearance of the Italian laborer, and newspaper headlines about Italian criminals, has caused the former sympathy with the Italian to disappear to a large extent. The picture drawn of life in the Italian quarters is not a pleasant one. We read:

In the Italian quarters the life is that of the tenement. The families are usually large, and in most of them boarders are taken with a view to eking out the payment of the rent. There are tenements occupied by Italians in New York in which eight and ten men sleep in one room, with not more than 1,500 cubic feet of air to breathe, for eight or nine hours. Very often a whole family occupies a single sleeping room, children over fourteen years of age sleeping with their parents or with smaller brothers and sisters. The first consequence of this overcrowding is an astonishing decline in physical strength. Thousands of Italians who come to New York robust and healthy go back every year to their native country to die. The records of the Board of Health show that the death rate among the Italians in New York is higher than that of any other nationality, being no less than 36.43 in the thousand, as against an average of 18.71, the next highest being that of the Irish, 23.55, and the lowest that of the Germans, 12.13, while that of native Americans is 13.98. Consumption and bronchopneumonia are the most fatal diseases among adult Italians, and diphtheria and measles (both easily cured if treated in time) the principal causes of the high death rate among the children, because of the ignorance of the Italian mothers.

Ignorance is, indeed, the cause of most of the evils of Italian immigration in this country. Almost 50 per cent. of all Italian adults in New York are

illiterate; and, as a whole, they form a mass of faithful and honest workers—the most useful, and in a certain sense the most needed, if not the most desirable. These are the men who excavate the subways, clean the streets, work at the cement foundations of the skyscrapers, and build the great railway stations. Their ignorance, however, creates a number of problems that otherwise would not exist.

Illiteracy is indeed the *bête noir* of Italian immigration. Very often the Italian banker, real estate man, and grocer are themselves half-illiterate; and "there are Italian lawyers and professional men with diplomas from renowned universities acting as clerks to half-illiterate bankers and contractors at salaries of from \$6 to \$10 per week." Then there is the son of the little merchant in Italy who "served three years in the army, and went to prison for making fun of his peasant corporal, and who finally landed in America without any trade, and what is worse, with no inclination or intention to work." A few of these derelicts find fields of honest activity, but "a large number of them unite with the few criminals escaped from Italy, and form a class of half-educated malefactors—the 'Black Handers.'" There is another way in which ignorance among Italians in America breeds criminals.

The children born in this country of the Italian illiterate laborer never see a book or a newspaper in their homes, until they bring them there from the public schools. These children cannot help making comparisons between the palatial surroundings of the school and the squalid tenements in which they live; between the intelligence, knowledge and grace of the teachers and the ignorance and bad manners of their own parents. The illiterate Calabrian or Sicilian has a much larger grounding of sound common sense than his American child, who has studied history, geography, arithmetic, and a number of other beautiful things, but the youngster who has reached the eighth grade becomes vain of his knowledge and too often looks with disdain upon his unlettered parents. If the illiterate father succeeds in swearing falsely as to the age of his child, and sends him to work at the age of twelve, the chances are that he will make of him an honest and industrious worker and a second-rate citizen. If, however, the boy goes on to the ninth grade, he too often breaks from the influence of his parents, when he begins a career of idleness in the pool-room, continues it in the saloon, and ends in the reformatory or the jail. The breaking up of family ties results even more disastrously in the case of girls, but fortunately natural instinct keeps them more securely under the influence of the mother. The younger American-educated Italian criminals already constitute a much graver problem than the uneducated criminal from Italy, or the older Italian criminals created by environment in this country.

All this is a picture of the very worst fea-

tures of Italian life in America. Dr. Pecorini admits that he has presented them purposely because "one of the most discouraging features of the situation has been the lack of serious study, by the Italians, of conditions among themselves in the new land." The outlook is really encouraging, he adds. "Immigration is improving. The Italians who have come to New York in recent years are mainly representatives of the different trades. There are 15,000 Italian tailors, some of them employed in the best establishments, besides thousands of printers, electricians, mechanics, etc., all of them among the most sober, honest and industrious of workmen. "The retail fruit business and the artificial flower industry are almost entirely in the hands of Italians. Italian bankers doing a legitimate business are increasing; and the Savoy Trust Company (founded as the Italian-American Trust Company) was one of the institutions that weathered the panic of 1907, and to-day has deposits of \$2,000,000. There are nearly 400 Italian physicians in New York, most of them respectable and able men."

The Italian press is "not serving as an interpreter of American life and ideals to its constituency." But there "are two Italian dailies that enjoy the distinction of having refused money for support of a political cause at a municipal election."

In three distinct fields—truck farming, intensive agriculture, and fruit raising—the Italian has proved an unqualified success; and of the future of the Italian so engaged there need be no doubt. The need of the urban Italian is a civic need. While the proportion of voters among other foreign nationalities ranges from 15 per cent. to 25 per cent., the proportion of voters among Italians is but 3 per cent. The better elements "have not identified themselves with the community in which they live, and there is not an Italian holding an important municipal office." These conditions, says Dr. Pecorini, "are abnormal, unhealthful, and they may become disastrous. They must be changed. Desirable Italian residents must become American citizens, and must take away the direction of their politics and the protection of their interests from the dealers in votes. Citizens are needed far more than voters. To organize all educational agencies working among Italians and make them transform this inert, dead mass into a living, progressive force, is an immediate necessity. Only thus may what seems now a peril be made a blessing."

## WHITE SNOBBERY IN THE FAR EAST

"I BELIEVE the European snob in Asia is distinctly the enemy of the civilized West. And his coadjutor in this country is a fitting criminal yoke-fellow." So writes Mr. Melville E. Stone, president of the Associated Press and an experienced traveler, in the *National Geographic Magazine*. Mr. Stone entitles his paper "Race Prejudice in the Far East," but it is evident from the incidents he records and the unchallengeable facts that he presents that for "prejudice" we must now read "snobbery." He reminds us that "whatever our ignorance of, or indifference for, the Orientals in the past, it is well to note that conditions, both for us and for them, have entirely changed within the last decade." There is, as he says, a new United States and a new Asia. One was created by the Spanish War; the other, by the Russo-Japanese conflict. The Asian has discovered that a yellow man behind a gun is quite as effective as a white man; and the question is "What is to be the outcome?" How long "will the 6000 soldiers we have in the Philippines be able to keep our flag afloat among 8,000,000 of natives? How long will the 75,000 English soldiers in India be able to maintain British sovereignty over 300,000,000 of Asians?" Mr. Stone is convinced that there is real danger awaiting us, if we do not mend our ways. We shall never meet the problems growing out of our relation with the Far East unless we "absolutely and once for all put away race prejudice." In illustration of the paragraph at the head of this paper, Mr. Stone gives some incidents which came under his personal observation and which we reproduce here in brief:

From Bombay to Yokohama there is not a social club at any port or treaty point where a native, whatever his culture or refinement, will be admitted. Last year at the Bengal Club, Calcutta, a member aroused such a storm of opposition by inviting a Eurasian gentleman—*i.e.* a half native and half European—to dine with him, that the matter was only adjusted by setting aside the ladies' department and allowing the offending member and his guest to dine there alone. . . . While in Calcutta I attended a ball at Government House, and noted that while native princesses were dancing with white men, a score of native gentlemen stood about as "wallflowers." Calling Lady Minto's attention to the fact, she explained that no white woman would think of dancing with a native: it would mean social ostracism. . . . The son of a maharaja, educated at Oxford or Cambridge, may be honored by an invitation to Windsor; but when he goes back home he may enter no white man's club, no white woman will associate or dance with him, and, if he haply marry a European, he, his wife, and his

children become outcasts. . . . Although native troops have shown undying loyalty to the British flag, and have exhibited the highest courage, no one of them ever has received or ever can receive the Victoria Cross.

Mr. Stone is careful to say that he is not criticising British rule in India: indeed he does not doubt the desire of the administration to do for India all that Christianity and humanity may dictate; but there is a danger that the line of cleavage may pass from a religious to a racial one, and this danger grows with every hour. He reminds us that we, too, are involved in similar cases of race prejudice in other parts of Asia. A minister of the Japanese Crown, a graduate of Harvard, told him a story, in substance as follows:

When Perry came to Japan, followed by Townsend Harris, it was stipulated that the Japanese should give them ground for a legation and consulates. They did so. Yokohama was then a mere fishing village. Merchants and traders followed, and ground was given them also for shops. The British and Russians who came soon after received similar concessions. A racetrack, cricket-field, and golf-links were desired, and ground was given for these also. When the city expanded, the cricket-field became the center of the town. The town authorities wished to use it and to give another piece of land in the suburbs, to which convenient trains now ran. The foreigners demurred; and the town compromised by paying for the improvements on the cricket-field and furnishing a new one free of cost. The foreigners also declined to pay taxes on their buildings, and this question is now before the Hague court. Yet, no native Japanese gentleman has ever been permitted to enter the club house or grand stand, or to play upon the cricket-field.

In the Philippines "a ruffian American soldier, recruited from the purlieus of New York, shoves a native gentleman from the sidewalk of Manila with an oath, calling him a 'nigger.' Yet that 'nigger' is very likely a cultivated gentleman, educated at the Sorbonne in Paris."

These conditions, says Mr. Stone, cannot long endure. Politically we are in grave danger; and Americans will do well to ponder the following facts:

Commercially, with their industry and frugality, the members of the yellow race are fast outstripping us. They have ceased buying flour from the Minneapolis mills because they are grinding Indian and Manchurian wheat with Chinese labor at Woosung. A line of ships is running from the Yellow River to Seattle, bringing 72,000 tons a year of pig iron manufactured at Hankow, and delivered, freight and duty added, cheaper than we can produce it. In Cawnpore, India, with

American machinery, they are making shoes so cheaply that the manufacturers of Lynn can no longer compete with them. The cottons and silks which we at one time sent to Asia are now made in Japan and China.

Socially the cry of the yellow race is: "Stop cheating us; stop swindling us; stop

treating us as your inferiors who are to be beaten and robbed." Japan says: "Leave to us the question whether Japanese laborers shall go to America, and we will stop them. But do not admit the lazzaroni of Hungary and Italy and Russia because they are white, and shut us out because we are yellow."

## MODERN WATER SUPPLY FOR CHINESE CITIES

**T**HE horribly polluted state of the drinking water used by the mass of the Chinese people has often been commented upon. Without doubt local conditions, the density of the population, certain national characteristics, all combine to render very difficult any attempt to secure pure water. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the Chinese, in their devotion to tea, are accustomed to refresh themselves with a beverage for which the water has been boiled. Yet the fact remains that much, one might say everything, remains to be done in this important field. Recently, according to a writer in *Cosmos*, a very noteworthy movement has been inaugurated, as a result of which several public water supply projects have come into being, as commercial propositions, where nothing of the sort had hitherto been thought of.

It is true that one of these projects has been developed on the island of Formosa, that is, among Chinese people but at the instance of the Japanese Government, in whose control the island has rested since the Chino-Japanese War. This is only one of the schemes which have been devised, having for their object the betterment, at any rate a change in the customs, of the conquered Chinese. The city of Taïpen, the capital of the island, is now supplied with water from reservoirs some three miles from the source of supply. These reservoirs have been in process of construction for about two and a half years and have cost about a million dollars, together with the pumps, mains and filters. The water is drawn from the Shinten River and flows into two decantation-basins having a diameter of 160 feet and a depth of 15 feet; from these it passes into the filters, which are six in number and measure 100 by 120 feet. After filtration, pumps lift the water to a pure-water reservoir 15 feet deep, from which it is distributed by mains, but only after having passed through six other sand filters. At present, in addition to the home-distribution, public fountains through-

out the town supply pure water to the native population. The charge for the water is at the rate of fifty cents a month for a family of five persons. The plant installed is capable of supplying three times the amount of water now consumed.

And now Peking, the most Chinese of all Chinese cities, the one which sets the fashion, is to have a public water supply. A German company has contracted to install the plant for a lump sum of one million dollars. It is interesting to note that American factories have supplied the iron mains and machinery needed for the impounding and distribution of the water.

The water is drawn from the Shaho River, which rises in the mountains to the west of Peking, in a region which fortunately does not boast a single village; consequently the water is pure. Even the tombs which are thickly scattered throughout all the densely populated portions of China, are notably few along the banks of the Shaho. At Sunho lift-pumps raise the river water to the decantation-basins, from which it passes to the filter-beds; these are of the usual type, lined with sand and gravel. Finally the filtered water reaches a great reservoir built at Tung-chih-men, near the northeast gate of Peking; this reservoir is constructed of concrete and a park is to be laid out upon its roof. For distribution, the filtered water is pumped from this reservoir to a water-tower 170 feet high, capable of holding over 900 cubic yards. Two sets of lift- and force-pumps have been installed, either of which is capable of maintaining the supply in the tower. The pressure exerted in the distributing mains of the city is sufficient, in case of a fire, to throw a stream of water 100 feet in the air.

The plant will furnish water over an area occupied by a population of 700,000, where infectious diseases have always been rife. The water will be sold at the rate of 6.5 cents per cubic yard. The company will be managed exclusively by Chinese—which is another indication of the efforts the Orientals

are making to free themselves from all European control.

It may as well be added that, in many other towns, as, for example, Moukden, preparation is being made for the installation of systems of public water supply.

## A PLEA FOR THE PRUSSIAN BUREAUCRACY

THE constant growth of federal authority in this country and the possible development of an American bureaucracy give particular interest to an exculpatory article contributed by Erich Lilienthal, a well-known German journalist, to *Samtiden* (Christiania). He maintains that those who see in Prussian bureaucratic methods one of the principal hindrances in the path of oncoming democracy, do not fully understand what those methods imply. To him they mean, first and last, systematization and organization—the substitution of collective order for individual chaos. And he ventures to assert that when democracy in its fullest sense finally arrives, it will have for its principal foundation those abhorred methods of bureaucracy.

He sees the main cause of the existing hatred against Prussian officialdom in the corps spirit which has been essential to its upbuilding and which is misunderstood and abused by irresponsible underlings only. Yet he finds a historical justification even for this wrong-headed attitude toward the mass of the people. For, in order that the vast, wonderful machinery may function properly the individual must needs surrender parts of his personality to the whole. His main reward for this sacrifice of personal initiative lies in the feeling that he belongs to the government of a great people—to a government in the true sense of that word. "For," says this Berlin writer significantly, "the Prussian official governs actually, be he a minister of state or only a policeman." He rules every phase of the social and economical field, and—in spite of all criticism at the hands of a strong and well-founded opposition—his methods are so excellent that the Social Democracy itself, the bitterest antagonist of the official administration, has the adoption of those same well-tried methods to thank for its great success.

For the selfsame methods that the official class have drilled into the people are now being used by the Socialists for the unification of its vast hordes of voters. And what is true of the Social Democracy holds good also in regard to the other great organizations that have achieved anything—it applies to the Clericals not less than to the Hanseatic Union and the League of Landed Proprietors. Always and everywhere recur the same methods that have been evolved by the bureaucracy. If

some time the call to arms against the prevailing regime should be sounded in Prussia, the revolutionaries will not pour out chaotically on improvised barricades, but, appearing in numberless regiments and moving together according to well-considered plans, they will calmly tear down one rampart after another.

But the revolution will never come in Prussia, says Mr. Lilienthal. It could be provoked only by a criminal egoism, of which not even the party of the landed nobility, the "junkers," can be held capable. The principal guarantee against any such upheaval he finds in the fact that the bureaucracy is not so reactionary at heart as is generally supposed. If that class were what it has been pictured, how could it then be possible, he asks, that Germany's social insurance and its legislation for the protection of the workmen have been fostered by that very class?

What the Prussian official may be accused of is not so much reactionary tendencies as rather too great deliberation in its progress. Considering the intricacy of its apparatus, it works rapidly enough, however, and knows how to assimilate much of the new that is daily coming to the front. And one must never forget that when the old Prussia was created, it was the official class alone that had grasped the idea of a state and was thus enabled to take leadership within the nation. Its task was to educate numerous groups, brought together by war or dynastic treaties, into a sense of national unity.

Now, when the people has reached maturity, those that have ruled it find it hard to surrender their power. And they demand, above all, that the social structure created by them shall not be endangered by haphazard reforms, that do not fit into that structure.

But this careful policy of reserve toward the currents of the time will not prove feasible much longer. The modern spirit, born by modern industry, holds the whole country captive, and it must take possession of the official as well, if he is to remain capable of administering the country in the future. That there must be a change in the composition of the official class has already become clear to the government. Hitherto the upper and middle strata of the bureaucracy have been recruited from the landed nobility and the old judicial families. In the future we shall gradually see sons of manufacturers, of engineers, of merchants, take charge of the leading government positions.

The appointment of Dernburg, the president of the Darmstadt Bank, as National Secretary of State for the Colonies was symptomatic of the impending change.

Mr. Lilienthal asserts that it has become clear even to the Emperor himself that past feudalism will no longer stand the test of modern conditions. Other German rulers have advanced far beyond the national head in this matter. They are more and more surrendering their powers to the people, and it seems likely that the democratization of

the imperial office and the bureaucracy will be accomplished simultaneously. In Southern Germany the monarchs are already democratic, and a personality like the Grand Duke of Hesse would, thinks Mr. Lilienthal, anywhere be classed as a member of the "Liberal Left." But even in Prussia, he adds, conservatives and close associates of the monarch, like Professor von Schmoller, have lately insisted that the government must take the lead in suffrage reform unless it wants to lose its entire hold on the reins.

## WILL ULTRA-MICROSCOPY EXPLAIN THE MYSTERY OF MATTER?

**M**R. EDISON recently expressed the opinion that, eventually, science must prove that what is now termed the spiritual is identical with what we call matter, in respect of the basic energy that underlies and involves its structure, and that further discoveries in science would eventually reveal the intrinsical identity of mind and matter. The great electrician was careful to emphasize the vast importance which ultra-microscopy must play in future scientific research, inasmuch as it may unfold to us the mystery of the atomic and molecular worlds, and indicate the point of contact between what has been termed (by Fournier d'Albe) the infra-world and the actual world.

Naturally, the future of ultra-optical science possesses an importance that cannot be overlooked, and all the more so that (according to the experts) ordinary direct microscopy has reached its limit. An article by M. Houllevigue, in the *Revue de Paris*, is, therefore, of great interest. Referring to the perfection reached by opticians, he says:

Germany has outstripped all other countries in her attention and devotion to this important instrument of scientific research. Her scientists have definitely reached the conclusion now that the infra-world, or the sub-atomic domain, can only be observed by indirect effects of light. It is not, we know, sufficient to obtain enlarged pictures or views; it is also necessary to illuminate them. An increase of 1000 diameters does not always bring a corresponding increase of light. In order, therefore, to effect our research, it is necessary to obtain this light, and that is what ultra-microscopy is successfully attempting to do. Take, for example, the finest kind of microscope, fully equipped. With a lens of 500 diameters, we see more than with 50; and with 1000 or 2000 more than with less. Nevertheless (as in photography), a point arrives at which it is no longer possible to distinguish details. The retina of the eye is so constituted that, at a given point, the power of receiving impres-

sions is beyond its sensitiveness, no matter how efficient or powerful the intervening lenses. We cannot see molecules with the best microscope, any more than we could distinguish bees, with the naked eye, at a distance of twenty miles.

There is no hope, therefore, that simple microscopy is going to unfold to us the mystery of ultimate particles, the human eye having its well-determined limitations. Nor do the colored rays afford us much more ground for hope, since, after a certain point, the eye is insensible to the effect of colors. Nevertheless, it is along the lines of angular diffraction of light that the solution appears to be realizable. The Germans, Siedentopf and Zsigmondy, have developed this new line in ultra-microscopy. Says M. Houllevigue:

Just as the stars are visible to us only as circles of diffracted light, so the most minute particles that become visible to the eye when a ray of the sun penetrates a room are only visible to us through the process of light waves breaking against infinitesimal particles, or aggregations of particles, and thus creating the impression, on the eye, of visible matter. It is thus seen that an infinitesimal particle acts in space as if it were in reality itself a luminous body; and so, if it is isolated in an obscure background, it is possible to discern its existence if not its form, and to follow it in its movements. If there be several such points in the area of vision, it becomes possible to compare them, and estimate their size from the quantity and color of the light diffracted. Angular diffraction of light is, accordingly, the theory on which ultra-microscopy rests. And as to the enormous advance which has been made over simple or direct microscopy, it suffices here to say that before its discovery the naked eye could only discern with the most powerful microscope the twentieth part of a micron—a micron being one-thousandth part of a millimetre—and that with difficulty. This dimension is, however, scores of thousands of times greater than atomic or molecular dimensions. Yet by means of the ultra-microscope it would suffice

that molecules should be but 10,000 (ten thousand) times greater for their action to become apparent to the researches of ultra-microscopy. It may be said, consequently, that the basic chemical origins

or essence of matter must, in the process of the development of the new optics, become known to science, and perhaps finally explain the mystery of life.

## THE LIMIT OF ORGANIC LIFE IN OUR SOLAR SYSTEM

**W**HILE discussing "planetary atmospheric envelopes" in *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm), Prof. Svante Arrhenius, the noted Swedish physicist and Nobel prize winner, takes up the old question of the possible or probable habitability of the various bodies grouped around our own sun. He concludes that only two of these bodies are likely to hold organic life at the present time. In this respect his position does not differ from that of our own Professor Lowell. But when he comes to name those two bodies, it is seen that he and Lowell hold practically antipodal views.

Since the death of Schiaparelli, Lowell is probably the foremost champion of the view that ascribes not only life, but the equivalent of human life of a highly developed type, to Mars. Arrhenius, on the other hand, assumes with Campbell that the Martian atmosphere has already been thinned out to an extent that precludes the very thought of organic existence. Where water has all but disappeared; where the land is a salty desert, and where the temperature ranges from  $-155^{\circ}$  C. to  $-200^{\circ}$  C., there life, as it is found in the simple amoeba no less than in complex man, must be held out of the question. And the conditions just described are those which Arrhenius thinks characteristic of Mars in its present stage.

Equally marked is his opposition to Lowell when Venus is considered. Of the beauteous evening star our own authority tells us that it is always turning one side toward the sun, so that while one of its hemispheres burns the other freezes—and again life is ruled out. Not so, cries the Swede—if it be permissible to speak of his polished and dispassionate sentences as a "cry."

It seems likely that conditions in Venus are about the same as on our earth. For Venus comes very close to possessing the principal characteristics of our own globe. Thus, for instance, it has a very dense atmosphere, in which heavy clouds and large masses of planetary dust are held in suspense. It is this atmosphere which hides the surface of the planet from our view. It is now thought certain that all the planets have become segregated from the gaseous mists which originally surrounded the sun, and this makes it probable

that planets lying so close together as the earth and Venus should have about the same chemical composition. And they do show almost the same specific gravity, the difference between them being only six per cent. Venus ought therefore to be giving off carbonic acid and water, just as does the earth; and the heavy clouds found in the atmosphere of Venus indicate that such is the case in regard to water at least. Now there are several astronomers who insist that Venus is forever turning the same side toward the sun, in the same way as her neighbor, Mercury. If this were true, Venus ought, through radiation, to assume the temperature of the interstellar spaces, which falls more than two hundred degrees below the freezing point. Under such conditions all gases except hydrogen and helium ought to be congealed into a mountainous protuberance on our side of the planet, and there would be no clouds in its atmosphere. The atmosphere ought also to be very thin and deflect the light very little, which is contrary to observed facts. So that when one astronomer, Bjelopolsky, declares that Venus revolves around its own axis once in about twenty-four hours, like the earth, and another, Lowell, concludes that Venus always turns the same side toward the sun, I must believe the former to be in the right.

Turning to our own planet, Professor Arrhenius reviews its history in the light of the latest discoveries and theories, before he goes on to speculate concerning its future. That a time must come when organic life dies out and the earth approaches the present conditions of the moon or Mercury, he takes for granted. In this connection it is interesting to note that he sees in human activity a fact making momentarily for an improvement of our terrestrial climate—an improvement which he thinks will become more and more noticeable while we continue to burn coal and thus to feed the atmosphere with carbonic acid in large quantities. But this cannot stave off the end forever. Here he remarks:

We cannot prevent the earth from gradually cooling and contracting. At last our entire supply of coal will be used up, as will the earth's store of peat and petroleum. The percentage of carbonic acid in the atmosphere will decrease. Thus the temperature will become lowered. Greater and greater quantities of carbonic acid and water will become tied up in products of corrosion. First of all there will come a carbonic-acid famine through which vegetation will be reduced and finally annihilated. Then will come a water famine, too. The oceans will shrink together, and the continents will be turned into deserts. On the surfaces of the

latter will be deposited meteorites and cosmic dust containing iron, and this iron will become oxidized under the influence of the atmosphere. Then the desert sands will show red as they do now on Mars. What remains of water will be collected in the deep cracks of the earth's surface, where it will form little lakes that easily dry up. Finally this water will become deposited at that pole which is forever buried in the wintry night.

In summing up his views on this subject, Professor Arrhenius says that every planet is capable of supporting living organisms during only a certain period of its development. This period is characterized by the presence of a solid surface, probably in part covered by oceans; by the presence of an atmosphere containing oxygen, carbonic acid and water; and by a temperature ranging from  $0^{\circ}$  to  $55^{\circ}$  Celsius. He finds that only two planets, Venus and the earth, display such conditions, although neither planet shows them over its entire surface. Mars still has

an atmosphere, but its temperature is too low to permit the existence of organic life. Mercury, which resembles the moon very much, lacks an atmosphere, as do the minor planets. The same thing is probably true of most of the lunar bodies surrounding the other planets. Jupiter and the large planets lying beyond it have probably not become sufficiently cooled to develop a solid surface, and thus they cannot yet offer a habitat to organic beings. It is probable that planets circle about other suns, and that some of these exhibit conditions favorable to life, but they are too far away from us to permit any definite knowledge concerning them. "One cannot fail," says Professor Arrhenius in the conclusion of his very interesting article, "to be struck by the fact that such a very small portion of the material substance contained in our solar system serves as a foundation for organic existence."

## IS LAZINESS A DISEASE?

THERE is at least consolation, if not hope, for the sinful wight, whose friends are accustomed to fling the reproach at him that he was "born tired." For that, according to Theodule Ribot, of the Institut de France, who writes in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris), is precisely what is the matter with the majority of seemingly able-bodied individuals who are accused by the world of being lazy. Indolence, indifference and kindred vices of apathy, M. Ribot, who is a medical scientist as well as a speculative philosopher, does not hesitate to refer, in most cases, to a certain deficiency of quality in the blood and general somatic make-up that makes prohibitive any continued energy or concentration. He says:

Moralists have written much of the vice of laziness, but simply as an evil that hurts society. They neglect to consider basic causes of such a quality or defect, and attribute it simply to a lack of will-power that education is competent to deal with and re-create. The psychologist, on the contrary, has sought for the sources of the disease, and he has found that congenital laziness—that which is obviously not wilful—has an organic and a mental origin. A scientifically complete examination of a series of so-called idlers has discovered that there was a lack of tonicity in the whole system, that the heart-beats were weak, that arterial pressure was low, and that the circulation was generally of the slackest. A consequence of this is that the brain showed not so much an indisposition, as a real incapacity for concentrating attention, and soon, owing to the fact that its nourishment was at the vanishing-point, became exhausted. The truth of these findings is pointed, moreover, by the fact that even persons of great mental and physical

energy are given to indulgence in spells of idleness which they themselves are unable to explain, since their inclination does not tend toward waste of time. At such periods, they will find that the circulation of the blood has dropped from its normal activity, or else that, owing to indigestion or sluggish liver, certain areas of the brain and body are not being supplied with the normal quantity of blood.

M. Ribot finds that there exists a certain analogy between the inertia of the so-called lazy man and that of the aged individual. Laziness, he says, is a kind of anticipated old age. The general characteristic of old age is atrophy of the superior elements, muscular and nervous tissue, with a corresponding development of inferior (flabby) tissue. The influx and efflux of blood are reduced; there is a positive decay of nerve-tissue and muscle. As a result of these physical changes all over the body, psychic (or mind) changes necessarily follow—weakening memory, routine custom, disinclination to new ideas, submissiveness of a perfunctory order. Alone the spirit of egotism and the religious sentiment remain active and tenacious. Says M. Ribot:

The real man is very far from the ideal man whom we may suppose to be endowed with self-regenerating forces which he can call upon as he requires them. The common man cannot, at will, regenerate the energies he has just expended. These energies enter into his system under two forms: the one, internal—such as foods; the other, external—such as sensorial excitations. His organism cannot (of his own will) transform the quantity

of energy received into an equal quantity of freed energy; for in the normal man, efficient or workable energies circulate in the body, are gradually placed in reserve in the tissues, and constitute the greatest part of his organic or working energies. In its working the whole somatic and cerebral mechanism operates according to the native or acquired character of the individual; it is worth just what it is worth. A Gladstone or a Thiers can work un-

ceasingly for sixty years at hard political work; a Darwin could only work two hours daily far from the noise of cities. . . . As impulsive forces, interest in work and the cultivation by slow and graduated processes, to counteract predisposition to laziness, may be suggested. But the love of work and activity is an acquired tendency rather than a natural one, for the human tendency is toward the line of least resistance.

## THE PERSISTENCE OF SOCIAL FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

**S**PEAKING of our relations with the Far East, the writer of another article noticed in this REVIEW (page 238) alludes to the "new United States." Expression to a similar view is given by Prof. Frederick J. Turner in his annual address as president of the American Historical Association, printed in the *American Historical Review*. "The transformations," he says, "through which the United States is passing in our own day are so profound, so far-reaching, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that we are witnessing the birth of a new nation in America." Professor Turner refers to the revolution during the past two decades in the social and economic structure of this country, the changes in which "have been long in preparation and are, in part, the result of world-wide forces of reorganization incident to the age of steam production and large-scale industry, and, in part, the result of the closing of the period of the colonization of the West." The frontier line, which for decade after decade was depicted on the census maps, can no longer be described. The pioneer era has passed. Two ideals developed in this era; one was the ideal of individual freedom to compete unrestrictedly for the resources of a continent—the squatter ideal; the other was the ideal of a democracy—"government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The operation of these ideals took place contemporaneously with the passing into private possession of the free public domain and the natural resources of the United States. But American democracy was based on free lands; these were the very conditions that shaped its growth and its fundamental traits. Thus time has revealed that these two ideals of pioneer democracy had elements of mutual hostility and contained the seeds of its dissolution. The present finds itself engaged in the task of readjusting its old ideals to new conditions and is turning increasingly to government to safeguard its traditional democracy. It is not surprising that socialism shows noteworthy gains as elections continue; that parties are forming on new lines; that the demand for primary elections, for popular choice of senators, initiative, referendum,

and recall is spreading, and that the regions once the center of pioneer democracy exhibit these tendencies in a most marked degree. They are efforts to find substitutes for that former safeguard or democracy, the disappearing free lands. They are the sequence to the extinction of the frontier.

After tracing the marvelous development of our natural resources, the advances in our commercial fields, the colossal growth of our railroads, Professor Turner observes that in all this national energy, and contemporaneous with the tendency to turn to the national Government for protection to democracy, there is clear evidence of the persistence and the development of sectionalism. "Whether," he says, "we observe the grouping of votes in Congress and in general elections, or the organization and utterances of business leaders, or the association of scholars, churches, or other representative of the things of the spirit, we find that American life is not only increasing in its national intensity, but that it is integrating by sections." Much of Congressional legislation to-day is determined by "the contests, triumphs, or compromises between the rival sections." In the field of labor Professor Turner sees "in the utterances of so-called labor visionaries like Evans and Jacques, Byrdsall and Leggett, finger-points to the currents that now make the main channel of our history. In them are to be found some of the important planks of the platforms of the triumphant parties of our own day." As has been shown by Professor Commons, there arose between 1830 and 1850 an idealistic but widespread and influential humanitarian movement, strikingly similar to that of the present, dealing with forces in American life, animated by a desire to apply the public lands to social amelioration. The slavery struggle absorbed all these projects for the time; and after the war other influences delayed the revival of the humanitarian movement. Only in our own day has this humanitarian democratic wave reached the level of those earlier years. But in the

meantime there are clear evidences, says Professor Turner, of the persistence of the forces, even though under strange guise. To quote him further:

Read the platforms of the Greenback-Labor, the Granger, and the Populist parties, and you will find in those platforms, discredited and reprobated by the major parties of the time, the basic proposals of the Democratic party after its revolution under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, and of the Republican party after its revolution by Mr. Roosevelt. The Insurgent movement is so clearly related to the areas and elements that gave strength to this progressive assertion of old democratic ideals with new weapons, that it must be regarded as the organized refusal of these persistent tendencies to be checked by the advocates of more moderate measures.

Even American agriculture, viewed in rela-

tion to the economic, political, and social life of the nation, yields similar results for the historian. In the overproduction of wheat in rapidly colonized provinces, as in the overproduction of silver in the mountain provinces which were contemporaneously exploited, are to be found "important explanations of the peculiar form which American politics took in the period when Mr. Bryan mastered the Democratic party," just as in the opening of the new gold-fields in the years immediately following, and in the passing of the era of almost free virgin wheat soil will be found explanations of the more recent period when high prices are giving new energy and aggressiveness to the demands of American democracy.

## WHY TOLSTOY LEFT HIS HOME

A VERY graphic account of the circumstances which resulted in the late Count Tolstoy's voluntary exile from his home, only a few days before his death, was published in a recent issue of the London *Times*. It was written by P. A. Boulanger, an intimate friend of Tolstoy, who was present when he died.

To those near Tolstoy, says M. Boulanger, his departure from Yásnaya Polyána did not come as a surprise.

During the last thirty years of his life he suffered acutely from the contradictions amid which he lived; for he regarded property, wealth, and the sale of his writings as evils, yet felt constrained to go on living in a good house on his ancestral estate, having dinner served by a footman, while most of his books were published and sold by his wife, who obtained a considerable income from them, and ostentatiously surrounded him with comforts. Though he had renounced his property and divided it among his heirs nearly twenty years ago, and had then made over to his wife, for her life, the income derived from the sale of his copyrighted works published before 1880, yet while he resided with his family he had to live somewhat as they did, and this apparent contradiction between the external conditions of his life and the principles he held often evoked the blame—not only of people hostile to Tolstoy, but also of some of his most ardent followers, who wished him to set an example to the world; but for a long time no one understood the true reason of his inconsistency.

### ESTRANGEMENT FROM HIS FAMILY

So opposed was he to the views held by his wife, and so bitterly hostile was she to his

ideas, that, says the writer already quoted from:

he was always hoping that the Russian Government, which persecuted his adherents (imprisoning them and exiling them to Siberia), would some day imprison or exile him, and thus remove him from conditions of life that violated his conscience.

Of recent years the Countess became "more and more careful of her property."

When her copyright in some of his earlier writings was infringed she did not hesitate to take legal proceedings against the pirate publishers, and sought her husband's support in the matter; which action, clashing as it did with his rooted disapproval of all legal proceedings, caused him much suffering. All his remonstrances and attempts to pacify her without letting her have her way irritated her, and she, on her side, reproached him and made play with his inconsistencies. On the estate she employed watchmen, who sometimes came into conflict with the peasants; and Tolstoy's advice, to leave the property unguarded, vexed her still more. Tolstoy's position at home became harder and harder day by day. The Countess used to read his diary to discover his private plans and thoughts. It was the same with his will, made in July this year. Try as he would to hide from her that he was making it, rumors of it reached her, and depressing scenes occurred in consequence. More than once I witnessed depressing scenes between the Countess and her husband, and was always surprised to see how mildly Tolstoy behaved, and with what attention and love he treated his wife after her insults; and I saw that this attention and love were not in the least artificial or external, but came from a pure heart and deep feeling.

Thus vividly does M. Boulanger describe the last few months of the great Russian's life at home:

He had no privacy even at night, for from his bedroom he could hear the rustle of the Countess's dress as she looked through his papers in the next room—his study. During the summer of this year he began to think that he would have to leave Yásnaya Polyána and go somewhere into retirement, and he warned his youngest daughter to have a passport always ready in case of a sudden departure. On the night of Nov. 9, when Tolstoy was in bed and had put out the light, the Countess, believing him to be asleep, entered his study and began to search among his papers. Tolstoy heard this, and feelings of indignation and revolt rose in him with such strength that he could not subdue them. He counted his pulse, which was beating very quickly and irregularly, and suddenly he felt that it was useless to remain in his old home any longer. He had to go away and realize his long-cherished dream of living solitary and humble life. When the rustle in the study ceased, and Tolstoy had assured himself that the Countess was asleep in her bedroom, he rose, collected his papers, and went to tell his friend Dr. Makovitsky that he had decided to leave the house at once. It was three o'clock in the morning. After closing the door into the next room, that the Countess might not hear his preparations, he packed his papers and the necessary clothing. He took only two changes of underclothing, evidently considering that quite enough for his future life. Then he went to awake his youngest daughter, and bade her good-bye.

All the way to the station, the aged philosopher was "much agitated,"

fearing that the Countess might awake and overtake him, and that one of those scenes would ensue from which his nerves were already suffering.

They had long to wait at the station, and in the gray twilight of the wintry dawn Tolstoy walked briskly up and down the path outside. His coachman, waiting near, was surprised to see how brisk and firm were Tolstoy's movements. "Has your Excellency no message to send home?" he asked.

Tolstoy paused awhile in thought, and then, with a resolute shake of the head, said, "No, nothing. Go back home."

#### His Farewell Letter, Written Thirteen Years Ago

According to a letter published last month in the *Novoye Vremya*, of St. Petersburg, and

translated for the *Times*, the plan for exile was made by Tolstoy thirteen years ago. This letter, which the Count asked be handed to his wife after his death, was as follows—omitting a few details as to bequests:

DEAR SONIA,—Long have I been tormented by the discord between my life and my beliefs. To compel you all to change your life, the habits to which I myself had accustomed you, I could not; and to leave you ere this I also could not, believing that I would deprive the children while they were little of that small influence which I could have over them, and would grieve you; on the other hand, to continue to live as I have lived these sixteen years struggling and irritating you or falling myself under those influences and temptations to which I had become accustomed and by which I am surrounded I also cannot, and I have now decided to do what I have long wished to do: go away, because, first, for me, in my advancing years, this life becomes more and more burdensome and I long more and more for solitude; and, secondly, because the children have grown up, my influence is not needed, and you all have livelier interests which will render my absence little noticeable.

The chief thing is that just as the Hindus nearing 60 retire into the woods, and as old religious men seek to devote their last years to God and not to jokes, puns, gossip, or tennis, so for me, entering my 70th year, the all soul-absorbing desire is for tranquillity, for solitude, and, if not for entire harmony, at least not for crying discord between my life and my beliefs and conscience.

If I did this openly, there would be entreaties, pleadings, criticisms, quarrels, and I might weaken perhaps and not fulfil my decision—yet it must be fulfilled. And so, pray forgive me if my act causes you pain, and, above all, in your soul, Sonia, leave me free to go and do not repine or condemn me.

That I should have gone away from you does not mean that I am displeased with you. I know that you could not—literally could not—and cannot see and feel as I do, and therefore could not and cannot change your life and sacrifice yourself for something which you do not recognize. And therefore I do not blame you, but on the contrary recall with love and gratitude the long 35 years of our life, especially the first half of this period, when you, with the maternal devotion of your nature, so firmly and energetically bore that which you considered to be your duty.

Good-bye, dear Sonia,

Your loving LEO TOLSTOY.



# INVESTORS' PROTECTION

WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENTS

## Homes on Instalments

NOT long ago a mechanic bought three lots on the instalment plan, near New York City. He felt safe enough. The president of the suburban real estate company that sold him the lots was a man widely known in business circles.

The mechanic paid up all his instalments. He got what the real estate folks called a warrantee deed. The next thing was to build a house. He applied to a coöperative savings and loan society for a loan of \$2600. The society was perfectly willing to help him; it would have paid the money in instalments as the house became completed, section by section. But when its lawyer examined the mechanic's title to the lot, he discovered that the warrantee deed was worthless. The real estate company itself had not possessed a clear title.

This particular case, one is glad to record, turned out happily. Pressure was brought upon the officers of the real estate concern by the building and loan people. The mechanic's title was cleared up.

But last month a couple of hundred working folks were less fortunate. They had bought lots on the instalment plan from a real estate company with a high-sounding appellation—which was suddenly discovered to have heavily mortgaged the very lots it was undertaking to sell.

As a building and loan association lawyer stated for this department, "This sort of thing happens every so often." Working people sign contracts to buy lots on instalments, without realizing the intent of the phraseology, which by no means gives any responsible guarantee that even after the instalments are paid a clear title will be forthcoming. Safety may be felt, of course, when buying from real estate dealers whose experience and responsibility has been long and high.

## "Neighborhood" Lenders

MORE than two million people are members of local or "neighborhood" building and loan associations in the United States.

There are more than 5700 of these bodies. They own more than eight hundred and fifty million dollars.

The corner stone of home owning on instalments is the building and loan association that is truly a "neighborhood" affair—one whose officers lend money only on properties that they have personally inspected and to borrowers personally known to themselves.

In Charlotte, N. C., there is an association with a large membership among the colored people. One proprietor of a barber shop has acquired a competence of \$30,000, systematically saved through his association. Of course a great deal of this has come to him in the form of interest. And the way this interest has been earned is largely through the aid his money has furnished other members of his own race, who in turn have made sacrifices in order to own their own homes.

The president of this particular association became so impressed by the double beneficence of its work that, as soon as he had saved a modest competence, he retired from business. Now he devotes practically all his time to the extension of his association and others. He receives no pay for his work. He defrays his own expenses. He gets more satisfaction out of life than most people get, when he points to the \$11,000,000 of members' money that his institution has handled without the loss of a cent; and to the minuteness of its annual expenses—only  $\frac{3}{8}$  of 1 per cent. of its assets.

Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey are the three largest building and loan States, in point of assets and membership. The citizens of the twenty-odd States where there are few or no true "neighborhood" associations can obtain valuable information through the bank commissioners of such States as the "big three" and New York, which has just passed a model law.

The profit to commuters of well-run associations can be learned from the study of work done in New Jersey towns like Rutherford, Bloomfield and Hackensack. Nearly one-half of the 178,000 total building and loan membership of the State live in the commuting zone of New York City.

The emphasis on all "neighborhood" asso-

ciation work is its close relationship to the average citizen. For instance, the largest body in New York State, the "Homestead Aid" of Utica, has assets of nearly \$2,600,000; yet its mortgages average only \$1662 apiece. During its quarter-century of activity, no less than 3500 people who have borrowed from it are now home owners.

### Bank Directors and the Public

**P**ERHAPS recent newspaper headlines on "responsibility of bank directors" seemed a little technical to most readers. What difference did it make if a few millionaires were obliged to pay heavily for neglect of duty? But the welfare of a large proportion of American citizens rests directly upon these very men. There are 25,000 banks in the country. The figures obtainable for only 18,245 show a total of 25,645,604 depositors. Many of these accounts stand in the names of those who are heads of families with others dependent upon them. Then there are the stockholders, who are by no means all millionaires. In 1904, the national banks alone had 318,735 stockholders, of whom 104,534 were women. Since the national banks constitute only about one-third of all the banks, there are probably one million bank stockholders in the United States. All are interested, whether they know it or not, in the question of wildcat banking becoming possible by the neglect of "dummy directors."

It was only a coincidence that the failure of two banking institutions in New York City last month was followed, hardly more than a week later, by the final settling-up of a bank whose failure in the panic of 1907 was caused by the same unwise and reckless methods. But there is something more than coincidence, a sort of family resemblance, in fact, between the crash of last month and the downfall of the National Bank of North America in 1907. In the first place, there was that which the newspapers seize so eagerly upon, human interest. No normal person could fail to find romance in the story of Charles W. Morse, the former "ice-king," whose financial structure tumbled like a house of cards four years ago. Joseph G. Robin, the center of last month's sensation in the banking world, commanded like interest because of his humble origin, rapid rise, and the dramatic and sensational incidents accompanying the failure of his banks: his attempted suicide, the devotion to his cause of his sister, and his refusal to recognize the old couple believed to be his parents.

The analogy, however, between the methods of Charles W. Morse on the one hand and of Robin and the Carnegie Trust officials on the other, goes further than the merely picturesque. In both cases, there was speculation with bank funds for the benefit of the managers. There was also "kiting," a term which bank examiners employ to describe the process of indefinitely paying off old debts by creating new ones. Finally, there was in each case the usual story of directors with no understanding of the inside workings.

Presumably directors of a bank ought to be able to detect unsound methods. There were several eminent gentlemen on the directorates of the three institutions named. There may be no intention of establishing any criminal intent in those directions. But their too implicit faith in a single officer had quite the same result as if all of their directors had been in a conspiracy to defraud both the stockholders and the depositors.

There will be fewer of these dummy directors in the future—fewer directors who do not direct. For when it was announced last month that the affairs of the National Bank of North America had been settled after three years' work, it developed that a handful of gentlemen prominent in the community had been forced to put up \$240,000 for the doubtful honor of once having been directors. The receiver of the bank had brought suit against them for a much larger sum, but rather than stand trial they made a settlement, thus assuming liability for losses sustained in the bank's speculations. These directors have always denied any knowledge of irregularities. Their quickness to pay up can only be taken as evidence that while delinquent directors may escape criminal prosecution, they are likely to pay dearly for their complaisance in allowing others to do what they are supposed to do themselves.

Not only in New York is the job of dummy director becoming an expensive and doubtful honor. In Chicago the shareholders of the defunct John R. Walsh's banks have just brought a suit for \$3,000,000 against one of the former directors, a man of business prominence, for neglect of duty.

And here is a news item printed the 17th of last month—just as this issue of the magazine went to press:

**M**adison, Wis.—Suit has been started in the Federal Court for \$700,000 against the officers and directors of the defunct First National Bank of Mineral Point as individuals, because of the alleged carelessness in allowing its cashier, Phillip Allen, Jr., now in the Federal prison, to loot the institution of more than half a million dollars.

### A Government Protectorate for Investors?

**A** SUBSCRIBER to this magazine wrote not long since to the financial editor with reference to the stock of a certain company engaged in the promotion of a new invention. He had this to say: "I understand that the machine is now in use in some of the departments of the National Government at Washington. If this is true, doesn't it amount practically to a Government guarantee of the proposition?"

Of course, the notion is erroneous. There are a good many circumstances under which the Government might actually be using a newly invented device, as, for instance, merely for experimental purposes, without any intention of conveying the impression that it believed such device to be commercially practicable—something upon which a great industry might be built. Yet it is only a modified form of a notion which has been found to be surprisingly common among investors.

We refer to it here because it involves one of the dangers upon which strong emphasis was laid by all of the witnesses before the so-called "Hadley Commission," appointed by President Taft to investigate the issuance of railroad stocks and bonds, at the hearings in New York, the latest held before this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS went to press. It was only expressing the same idea in another way, when one of these witnesses argued that in whatever attempt might be made by the federal Government to establish a system of regulation for the issuance of railroad securities, there would be "the danger of creating the impress on that approval of securities by any commission makes them good."

Another witness declared that it would be a large undertaking for the Government to establish a protectorate over the investing public—that, even if it were attempted, he did not think it advisable to commence with the least of the evils. He added: "The market is flooded with millions of mining and other stocks, which are bought freely by people who are easily humbugged. No one has suggested, so far as I know, any Governmental effort to prohibit or regulate this speculation. Swindling through the issue or sale of railroad securities is absolutely insignificant in volume with what is done in other corporate securities."

\* With few exceptions, however, those who made the most important contributions to the great mass of evidence which is being

collected by President Taft's commission, were of the opinion that, aside from this danger, some kind of supervision by the Government might be found to be desirable. Only a few were inclined to doubt even the constitutionality of such supervision. It was interesting to find the most outspoken on this point in the person of Francis Lynde Stetson, legal representative of the vast interests in railroads, steamships and industrial enterprises commonly referred to as "Morgan."

Those who inclined to the affirmative view of the desirability of federal regulation included Robert S. Lovett, successor to the mighty Harriman as president of the Union and Southern Pacific railway systems; Walker D. Hines, general counsel and chairman of the board of directors of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé; Robert Mather, former president of the Rock Island Company—the man who was chosen to pilot the big Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company out of the sea of financial difficulties into which it had drifted during the 1907 panic, and who still directs its destinies; Jacob H. Schiff, head of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, one of the most powerful international banking houses in the world; Paul D. Cravath, corporation lawyer, who will be remembered by many particularly for his assistance in the able defense before the Interstate Commerce Commission a few years ago of the now famous "Alton transaction" of Harriman and his associates; and W. M. Acworth, of London, Parliamentary barrister at law and foremost authority on English railways.

### On the Defensive

**A** REPRESENTATIVE of this magazine listened to the testimony before the "Hadley" Commission, of directors, bankers, and lawyers, all representative, in one way or another, of big corporate interests. And to him the significance underlying it all was the unmistakable indication that these men had, on the question of regulation, at last placed themselves on the defensive.

Here, for instance, is a sentence from the testimony of Mr. Hines of the Atchison: "It is manifest that the public is going to insist upon regulation; it is manifest that State regulation is inadequate, and it follows that federal regulation ultimately, and preferably at the outset, should be exclusive." And from Mr. Cravath's testimony, "Whether or not it is economically wise, federal regulation has come to stay." The implication was clear that centralized regulation was preferred to

regulation in accordance with the varied opinions of forty-eight different State legislatures.

How far, then, shall the Government go in the matter under inquiry? One must grant that much regulation might easily increase the difficulty that so many investors already have of distinguishing between Government approval and Government guarantee; and might also, by making too inflexible the terms of the sale of stocks and bonds, act as a blight upon independent enterprise in the building of the new lines that the country so sorely needs.

Then what can be done to diminish whatever present danger there may be in the improvident or improper issue of railroad securities? Questions like these were asked by the Commission. The answers which seemed—if one might be presuming enough to attempt a judgment so far in advance of an official report making recommendations to Congress—to bring the most satisfaction to the inquirers themselves, were of this nature:

"Establish uniformity by a code of simple laws, based upon broad, fundamental principles." "Through an extension of the requirements of publicity, place the responsibility where it is to-day, namely, upon the boards of directors and the bankers, letting them bear the consequences of their acts." "Let the railroads deal with their credit as best they may, merely insisting that for new issues of stocks and bonds a fair consideration be received."

Incidentally, as might have been expected, such questions arose as the relationship between capitalization and the rates which the public pays for the services rendered by the railroads, and the advisability of physical valuation of railroad properties as a basis for their capitalization. The disposition was to dismiss the former as worthy of little or no consideration. Rates, insist the railroad men, are fixed in accordance with "what the traffic can afford"; they are the products of many factors. The latter was held to be more or less irrelevant.

The evidence which President Hadley and his colleagues heard is a strange mixture of theory and applied economics. Their most difficult task will be to knead it all into working shape for Congress, in the heat of debate, to turn into wholesome laws.

### Steel and Cotton Break Records

**S**TEEL happens to have been "Prince" during 1910, at least so far as the nation's exports were concerned. Thanks to it and to "King Cotton," Europe's debt to Amer-

ica, as indicated by the balance of trade, was larger at the end of the year than had been thought possible.

Figures just announced show the value of iron and steel exports during the calendar year to have been \$200,000,000. The largest exportation prior to 1910 was \$197,000,000 in 1907. Moreover, iron and steel manufacturers are found to form nearly one-fourth of the total value of manufactures exported, which in 1910 was about \$830,000,000.

Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor also show the value of raw cotton exports to have been \$530,000,000. This record exceeds by more than \$60,000,000 the previous best year in the history of the trade. The quantity exported, however, was materially less than in certain earlier years, having been but 3,641,000,000 pounds, compared, for example, with 4,374,000,000 pounds in 1908, when the value was but \$439,000,000.

Here are the official figures of imports and exports for the full year:

Merchandise imported .....	\$1,562,807,662
Domestic and foreign merchandise exported .....	1,864,411,270
Excess of exports over imports.....	\$301,603,608

Reference has previously been made in these columns to the fact that this "visible" balance of trade, during twenty years past, has averaged \$476,000,000 in favor of America. It is seen that in 1910 it was much below that average. Without the unexpectedly good showing in steel and cotton, America would have cut but a sorry figure internationally.

### Panama Bonds

**C**ONVICTION is growing that, sometime during the year, the real investment value of United States bonds will be put to a test.

Congress has just had submitted for its consideration a bill, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to insert in the new Panama bonds a provision "that such bonds shall not be receivable by the Treasurer of the United States as security for the issue of circulating notes to national banks . . . provided that the authority . . . shall cease, when bonds to the value of \$100,000,000 shall have been issued." It is pretty generally believed that the measure will become a law, and that the new bonds will bear interest at the rate of three per cent.

No less an authority on United States securities than the National City Bank of

New York declares that "the time has arrived when the United States must seek a market for its bonds on an investment basis, uncomplicated by such artificial considerations as are involved in the availability of bonds as a basis of national bank circulation."

The outcome of the experiment will be awaited with great interest. There is, however, little doubt that, despite the growing disposition on the part of individual investors to demand a high rate of income, the bonds will be readily absorbed through competitive bidding. There are more investors than is commonly imagined to whom the factor of "safety" still appeals more strongly than that of substantial return.

### Why Some Investors Hesitate

"I HAD about made up my mind to use a few thousand dollars of idle funds in the purchase of bonds," wrote a subscriber, recently, "but a friend tells me that we are in for some bad times, and advises me to keep the money in the bank. What do you think about it?"

This particular "friend" is not alone in his apparent alarm over the outlook for the year. The writer personally knows of a good many others who have become disturbed by reading the pessimistic views of the railroad men, and by the frequent use of the word "depression" by chroniclers of the industrial news. They have seen the recent bank failures in New York described as "an incipient panic," and quite naturally, perhaps, they have associated all these things with the unfortunate events of the panic of 1907.

It would make a long story, if one were to attempt to tell wherein the present situation differs from that which culminated in the breakdown of three and a half years ago. Suffice it to say, however, that, aside from one or two mere incidents, the two are not analogous at all. In the opinion of those who study conditions most closely, and who have proven their ability to interpret them most accurately, it is going far enough to say that business and industry are simply "slowing down."

It is proverbially true that in times like these those who traffic in investment securities find their persuasive powers mightily taxed to induce certain of their clients (among whom we may imagine the person quoted above) to take advantage of really attractive opportunities. They find themselves confronted with that peculiar phase of investment psychology, exemplified in the disposi-

tion of so many individual purchasers to turn their attention to the investment markets only when business and industry are "booming," when confidence is contagious, and when the price level is consequently high.

There is logic in the bankers' argument that it is before the "slowing down" process has reached a point where large sums of money are freed from the channels of commerce and trade, and before these sums seek investment in securities, that the real "opportunities" are found.

### The Demand for Bonds

INVESTMENT bankers, who joined with so much enthusiasm in the campaign against extravagance, supplementing President Taft's efforts to check the dissipation of the resources of the nation by preaching the doctrine of individual saving, profess themselves well satisfied with the number of avowed "converts" thus far.

Naturally, the "salvation," which the bankers held out was the purchase of high grade stocks and bonds, and it is gratifying to note the extent to which the public has availed itself of it. The demand for the best issues has been increasing of late, and, what is more, it hasn't been coming from the big banks and insurance companies. In other words, the tide, which, as pointed out in these columns last month, was against the investment markets, appears to have set in the other direction.

Superficially, perhaps, there is some reason for a continued display of timidity on the part of investors, particularly those who in times past have leaned more strongly toward railroad bonds. Officials of many of the great transportation systems have been saying that it would not surprise them if 1911 were to be another year of declining "gross" earnings. We have, however, had it suggested to us by some of the closest students of the railroad situation that the outlook is not so bad as these officials try to make it out. We have previously observed that, in view of certain controversies with the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average railroad man has been disposed to put his worst foot forward.

At the time of writing these remarks, there had been comparatively little change in the average price of representative bonds, but it must inevitably come as the new and larger demand absorbs the old supply. The "bargains" tend gradually, but surely, to disappear from the counters.

# JULIA WARD HOWE AS A WRITER

BY JEANNE ROBERT

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE'S posthumous volume of verse, "At Sunset,"<sup>1</sup> will endure the test of true poetry—that it must stir the imagination and speak to the heart. It seems quite fitting that we should incidentally call to mind, along with some comment on this volume, the major incidents of the life and career of this distinguished woman of letters, philanthropist and reformer. Mrs. Howe's life was an outpouring of the passion that ever remains an attribute of the good and the great—the passion for "carrying, from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time." Her husband, Dr. S. G. Howe, superintendent of the Perkins Institute for the Blind at Boston, was for many years her able coadjutor in her many literary and philanthropical activities. He interested his wife in the Greeks and the cause of anti-slavery, and for some time they edited an anti-slavery paper. Their sympathies drew them into a friendship with John Brown, whom they abetted and aided until his death.

Mrs. Howe became a contributor to many periodicals, writing many lyrics and two plays. Previous to this last collection of verse she had issued two volumes of poems, "Passion Flowers" and "Words for the Hour." Of the two plays, the most pretentious, "Hippolytus," written for Edwin Booth, was never brought out—much to Mrs. Howe's disappointment. The "World's Work" was produced at Wallack's in 1855, but was not a decided success.

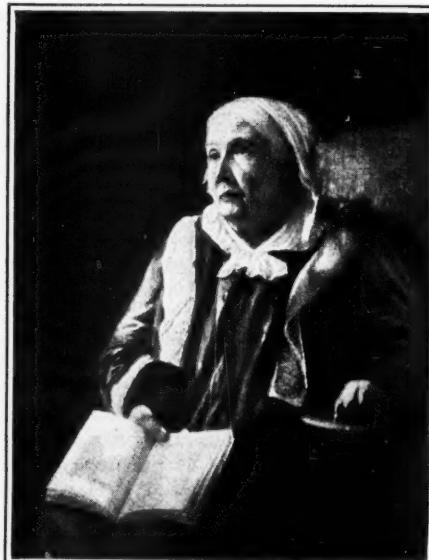
Mrs. Howe's permanent contribution to literature will in all probability be only a few lyrics, of which the popular "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is the most noteworthy. These fervid lines, sung to the tune of "John Brown's Body," were written in the spring of 1861, while Mrs. Howe was visiting the scenes of war in the outskirts of Washington. They were first set down on the back of some loose sheets of paper inscribed with the stamp of that patriotic body of men and women, the United States Sanitary Commission. The *Atlantic Monthly* published the poem and it circulated rapidly throughout the country, in camp, in hospital, in

prison—wherever men listened to the call of freedom. The popularity of the "Battle Hymn" has only been paralleled by that of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It is our "Marseillaise." It sank like a diver into the hearts of men to bring forth the pearl of absolute heroism—the heroism which is the essence of the old Celtic spirit that goes to death with smiling eyes and a song upon the lips. "The 'Battle Hymn' brings before our memory," said Governor Guild, at Mrs. Howe's memorial service, "Cushing in his battery at Gettysburg; Bartlett strapped in his saddle leading forlorn hopes; the torn and wounded remnants of the First Minnesota, with 80 per cent. of their comrades dead on the field of battle and three captured battle flags in their hands; Winslow sweeping the pirates from the sea in the face of a hostile Europe; the agonizing skeletons of Andersonville; Shaw at the head of his black regiment at Wagner; the Bloody Angle at Spottsylvania, and the moving drama at Appomattox."

The opening line, "Mine eyes have seen a vision," is an utterance that gives one an understanding of the tremendous influence she exerted upon her times. She was inspired; her poems were prophecies up-leaping like flames from the altar of her soul to light the way to things eternal.

Mrs. Howe was an intimate of the most intellectual men and women of her time and a great attraction as a public speaker. As years passed the people of New England came to regard her as an institution—the "Grand Old Woman of America." She outlived most of her contemporaries. Of those who worked with her in the stirring days when a song Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Frank Sanborn alone survive. Julia Howe, her eldest daughter, died in 1886. Her living children are Henry Marion Howe, professor in Columbia University, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, Mrs. Laura Richards, known as a writer, and Maud Howe Elliot.

Most women realize their responsibility to the family, to the community, even to the state and to the country; Mrs. Howe, with a recognition of a far off ideal of womanhood, realized her responsibility to the world,—to the Cosmos. This sense



MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE AS SHE APPEARED IN HER LAST YEARS

(From a portrait made by John Elliott and reproduced as the frontispiece of "At Sunset," a posthumous volume of verse.)

<sup>1</sup>At Sunset. By Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Houghton Mifflin Company. 150 pp. por. \$1.25.

of spiritual kinship with humanity gave her courage for the independence of thought and action so manifest in her life. She believed, with Nietzsche, that "only the minority is capable of independence." Her last work was an effort to secure recognition for the daughter of Garibaldi and a plea before the Massachusetts legislature for pure food laws to save the lives of children. At the time of her death she was engaged in arranging the poems included in the volume "At Sunset." This collection embraces many poems written for public occasions, such as the Hudson-Fulton celebration, the Lincoln centennial, and the Peace Congress. There are also many personal tributes to friends like Whittier, Dr. Holmes, Phillips Brooks, James Freeman Clarke, and others. To analyze Mrs. Howe as a poet is difficult. She is at her best when she attempts least, namely, in her simple, spontaneous lyrics. There is a feeling of a loss of power in her longer poems, where spontaneity is sacrificed to content. For pure, lyrical beauty there is nothing that surpasses the lovely lines "Looking down on the White Heads of My Contemporaries."

"Beneath what mound of snow  
Are hid my springtime roses?  
How shall remembrance know  
Where buried hope reposes?

In what forgetful heart,  
As in a canon darkling,  
Slumbers the blissful art  
That set my heaven sparkling?

What sense shall never know,  
Soul shall remember;  
Roses beneath the snow,  
June in November."

Another lyric breathing the mother spirit that so eloquently characterized Mrs. Howe, beginning "I have tended six pretty cradles," is of exceptional sweetness. The frontispiece, a photogravure portrait of Mrs. Howe made by her son-in-law John Elliott, brings her gracious presence near, almost to the degree of actual tangibility. The eyes are serene, the expression kindly. One imagines she must have looked like this portrait at breakfast table in her own home. It is proposed to hang a life-sized portrait of Mrs. Howe in Faneuil Hall and also to erect a bust in the Boston Public Library. It is right that she should be venerated; for she was in the truest sense a liberator and a reformer; she pleaded for the rights of womanhood with audacity and eloquence. In a century of marvelous achievement she was eminently useful; she stands for the noblest womanhood and the highest standard of citizenship.

## THE NEW BOOKS

### AMERICAN EDUCATION

TO spend a week in residence at each of fourteen leading American universities may not give the ideal preparation for writing upon American university progress, but it is certainly preferable to the old way of compiling an account from university catalogues and like literature. Whether the method is a successful one or not depends very largely upon the person who makes use of it. In the case of Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, the author of "Great American Universities,"<sup>1</sup> the fourteen weeks thus employed proved to be time well spent. Dr. Slosson was enabled to write a more vital, impartial, and truthful account of what is going on to-day in our leading educational institutions than has appeared in a long time. Naturally the picture is not wholly flattering, and in certain academic circles there will doubtless be criticism of some of Dr. Slosson's statements as well as regret that now and then a family skeleton was exposed to public gaze. But on the whole the author has at least succeeded in telling in a very direct and forcible way what he saw, and by far the greater part of what he saw was distinctly creditable to the modern American university—which, by the way, is an institution that its own graduates of a quarter of a century ago would almost fail to recognize. Dr. Slosson's concluding chapter, "Comparisons and Conclusions," should be read with diligence by university presidents and trustees and all responsible for university administration.

President Charles F. Thwing's "History of Education in the United States Since the Civil War"<sup>2</sup> covers not only the field of college and university education but the other parts of our educational system as well. One chapter is devoted to the

teacher and teaching, another to the textbook, and one to great personalities. Dr. Thwing rightly regards the period of time that has elapsed since the close of the Civil War as transitional and formative in a peculiar sense. He has himself been an interested observer of the educational movement during nearly all of this period and has written much concerning it, particularly with reference to higher education.

Until quite recently very little has been known in this country about outdoor schools, although information concerning such schools in Germany and England has been for some time available in official reports. Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, of the department of child hygiene, Russell Sage Foundation, has taken the accounts of this European experience, together with that of the Providence and Boston schools and material from other sources, and has compiled a little book<sup>3</sup> for the use of school superintendents, teachers, and others interested in educational work. The text is accompanied by a series of graphic and interesting illustrations.

In a little book entitled "Child Problems,"<sup>4</sup> Dr. George B. Mangold, of the St. Louis School of Social Economy, writes about infant and child mortality and its causes, the recent aspects of educational reform, child labor, the delinquent child, and the dependent and neglected child. In this single volume Dr. Mangold has brought together a great deal of material that has heretofore had no popular presentation outside of the pages of financial reports and the proceedings of organizations. He has made an exceedingly useful compilation of important data bearing on these several subjects.

Books on what has been called the most intimate phase of self-education—that is to say, a proper

<sup>1</sup> Great American Universities. By Edwin E. Slosson. Macmillan. 528 pp. ill. \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> Education in the United States Since the Civil War. By Charles F. Thwing. Houghton Mifflin Company. 348 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> Open-Air Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres. Doubleday, Page & Co. 171 pp. ill. \$1.20.

<sup>4</sup> Child Problems. By George B. Mangold. Macmillan. 381 pp. \$1.25.

understanding of the sex question—come from the presses in increasing numbers. Among those of recent publication which are worthy of more than a mere reading should be mentioned: Dr. Francis H. MacCarthy's "Hygiene for Mother and Child" (Harper); Mrs. Burton Chance's "Mother and Daughter" (Century); Sir Oliver Lodge's "Parent and Child" (Funk & Wagnalls); Dr. Le Grand Kerr's "Care and Training of Children" (Funk & Wagnalls); Margaret Slattery's "The Girl in Her Teens" (*Sunday School Times*); and Dr. Edith B. Lowry's "Confidences—Talks with a Young Girl Concerning Herself" (Forbes & Co., Chicago).

#### SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS

Whether the publishers have had in mind the fact that during the opening weeks of 1911 several thousand lawmakers would be engaged at their annual or biennial tasks, we have no means of knowing. But certain it is that the proportion of books in the present season's output devoted to topics of peculiar interest to legislators is remarkably large. Within the past few weeks there have been issued from the presses of some of our most important publishing houses at least a dozen works, each one of which deals with one or more of the most vital phases of problems that have presented themselves for solution either to our State legislatures or to the national Congress. One volume, indeed, is entirely given up to a study of the origin, history, and present tendencies of law-making by statute. The title of this work, "Popular Law-Making,"<sup>1</sup> by Frederic Jesup Stimson, might be taken in a narrow sense to refer to the modern workings of the initiative and referendum. This, however, is not at all the theme of the book, nor does the author seem to have had such usage of his phrase in mind. By "popular" law-making he means all legislation enacted by modern representative governments. He begins with the early English idea of law and its working-out and proceeds to treat of American legislation under the separate heads of property rights, regulation of rates and prices, trusts and monopolies, corporations, labor laws, military and mob law, political rights, personal and racial rights, marriage and divorce, criminal law and police, internal improvements, and the public domain. Very few students have ever attempted such an investigation of the entire field of American statute law, and in presenting the results of such an investigation Mr. Stimson is certainly a pioneer. From this work the legislator of any one of our American States may consider with profit what has been accomplished in any portion of this vast field by all of the States. The book affords a remarkable conspectus of American law-making.

A useful manual of the legal rules governing corporations has been written by John S. Sullivan, of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> This book is not only a convenient handbook of statistics, but combines with a clear statement of the practical rules of corporation law some discussion of the broader principles governing it. In order to explain and illuminate the text many illustrative cases have been inserted at proper points throughout the volume.

Strangely enough, there has been comparatively little consideration of the race question in this

country from the point of view of State and federal legislation. Mr. Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, of North Carolina, has made an examination of the constitutions, statutes, and judicial decisions of the United States and of the States and Territories, between 1865 and the present time, to find the laws that have made distinctions between persons on the basis of race.<sup>3</sup> This is a matter of much interest, not only to the eleven States of the South but to every State in the Union which has legislated upon the race question in any of its manifold forms. The author has not confined himself to the legal documents but has endeavored to state the principles involved in a non-technical manner.

A subject of fresh and growing interest is the ever-increasing expenditure of our national Government. This was the subject of a series of eight lectures delivered last year at Columbia University on the George Blumenthal Foundation by Prof. Henry Jones Ford. These lectures have now been published in book form.<sup>4</sup> They deal with the making of the national budget, the constitutional agencies of budget control, comparisons with other countries, the evolution of the American system, political conditions and tendencies, and the possibilities of improvement. The publication of this book is especially timely in view of the efforts that are being made by the Taft administration and by certain leaders in Congress to check the rise of governmental expenditures.

Municipal problems are dealt with in the concrete by Prof. Delos F. Wilcox in his little book entitled "Great Cities in America."<sup>5</sup> Professor Wilcox confines his discussion to six cities only: Washington, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Boston. While this method of treatment is experimental, former works of this character having discussed the government of cities by topics, we believe that the innovation will be welcomed by students of municipal affairs generally. By taking each city separately the author is able to make a more effective presentation of the actual facts which had formed the groundwork of any attempt at municipal reform. If this method of treatment should prove acceptable to the public it is suggested that at some future time the story may be extended to include Cleveland, Los Angeles, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Denver, Milwaukee, and other cities of the second class.

Prof. Robert C. Brooks has an unpleasant subject in his book entitled "Corruption in American Politics and Life."<sup>6</sup> Still, it is just this cold-blooded pathological method that is required as the basis for all effective reform movements. Dr. Brooks has spent many years in familiarizing himself with the facts of American corruption, and he is in a position to state these facts in a way that should make a strong appeal to those members of the community who have faith in publicity as the effective cure of most evils in our public life.

Another set of questions that demands serious consideration from our legislators is related to the education of industrial workers. Mr. Arthur D. Dean, chief of the division of trade-schools of the New York State Education Department, has

<sup>1</sup> Race Distinctions in American Law. By Gilbert T. Stephenson. Appletons. 388 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup> The Cost of Our National Government. By Henry J. Ford. Macmillan. 147 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> Great Cities in America. By Delos F. Wilcox. Macmillan. 426 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>4</sup> Corruption in American Politics and Life. By Robert C. Brooks. Dodd, Mead & Co. 309 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>1</sup> Popular Law-Making. By Frederic Jesup Stimson. Scribner. 390 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> American Corporations. By John J. Sullivan. Appleton. 455 pp. \$2.

written a little book on "The Worker and the State,"<sup>1</sup> in which he makes a plea for "the democratization of education" and urges that the proper working-out of a national system of industrial education, more or less under federal control, is the only thing that will insure economic, industrial, and social stability in this country. He points out that most of the great army of boys and girls destined to earn their living with their hands waste from four to six years between the time they finish the common-school course and the time when they are old enough to secure places in factories. The result is that many of them drift into unskilled labor, and comparatively few rise above this class.

Miss Annie Marion MacLean is the author of "Wage-Earning Women,"<sup>2</sup> a compact and admirable summary of the industrial conditions faced by women in every part of the United States. The material that went into this book was gathered, not by correspondence, but by actual personal contact, and there is evidence of this on every page. In other words, it is a vital treatment of the subject, and not a mere statistical abstract.

Another presentation of the problem of women in industry is made by Rheta Childe Dorr in a book entitled "What Eight Million Women Want."<sup>3</sup> Among the topics treated in this volume are: "American Women and the Common Law," "Women's Demands on the Rulers of Industry," "Making Over the Factory from the Inside," "The Servant in Her House," and "Votes for Women." Many of these chapters appeared as special articles in *Hampton's Magazine*.

A revised edition of "The American Business Woman,"<sup>4</sup> by John Howard Cromwell, has appeared after an interval of some ten years since the publication of the first edition. During this time there have, of course, been changes in the laws and customs affecting some of the subjects considered in the book, and some subjects which were not considered at all in the previous edition have now been incorporated. The book is intended as a guide for the investment, preservation, and accumulation of property. It contains explanations and illustrations of all necessary methods of business.

"State Socialism in New Zealand"<sup>5</sup> gives the results of a first-hand study of the political and economic situation in that land of experimentation, as conducted by an American university professor with the assistance of a barrister in practice at Dunedin, New Zealand. Two important chapters of the book deal with compulsory arbitration, and these chapters have had the advantage of revision by the father of the New Zealand arbitration act, Mr. Reeves, late High Commissioner for New Zealand in London.

"The Conservation of Water"<sup>6</sup> is the title of a timely volume from the pen of John L. Mathews, author of "Re-making the Mississippi." This writer gives a lively exposition of what is meant by water as a resource, of water power and the mining of the white coal, of swamp drainage, and

<sup>1</sup> The Worker and the State. By Arthur D. Dean. Century. 355 pp. \$1.20.

<sup>2</sup> Wage-Earning Women. By Annie Marion MacLean. Macmillan. 202 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> What Eight Million Women Want. By Rheta Childe Dorr. Small, Maynard & Co. 339 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>4</sup> The American Business Woman. By John H. Cromwell. Putnam. 375 pp. \$2.

<sup>5</sup> State Socialism in New Zealand. By James Edward Le Rossignol and William Downie Stewart. T. Y. Crowell & Company. 311 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>6</sup> The Conservation of Water. By John L. Mathews. Small, Maynard & Co. 289 pp., ill. \$2.

of the general results of the conservation of water. The book is illustrated from photographs.

Mr. Carl S. Vrooman gives an interesting and suggestive discussion of American railway problems in the light of European experience.<sup>7</sup> His general topic resolves itself into the controverted question: government regulation versus government operation. Mr. Vrooman has been over the European railway situation with great care, and the result of his studies is to convince him that the most probable ultimate solution of the transportation problem in this country is public ownership and operation. Nevertheless, he advocates no undue hastening of the process of nationalization, preferring to wait until the people have been presented with what he terms "a generous diet of thoroughly authenticated economic facts." Instead of treating the general subject of railway transportation by countries, as has been done by other writers, Mr. Vrooman has adopted the plan of taking up, one at a time, our most important and least understood railway problems in order to focus upon each of them whatever light could be gained from the combined experience of the several European countries investigated.

A fifth edition of Prof. F. W. Taussig's "Tariff History of the United States"<sup>8</sup> brings the subject up to date by the addition of a chapter on the Payne-Aldrich act of 1909. Professor Taussig's work has long been recognized as the standard authority on our tariff history and is made still more valuable by the inclusion of the chapter on the new law.

An expanded edition of the book originally entitled "Europe's Optical Illusion," by Norman Angell, has been brought out simultaneously—so the publishers inform us—in England, Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States. The new edition, entitled "The Great Illusion,"<sup>9</sup> is simply an expansion of the original work, which we reviewed some months ago in these pages. The illusion, according to Mr. Angell, is the false belief on the part of Europe, and to a certain extent the world in general, that any real benefit can come to anyone from the conquest of one country by another. "If credit and commercial contracts, which are the foundations of wealth, are tampered with in an attempt at confiscation by a conqueror, the credit-dependent wealth not only vanishes, thus giving the conqueror nothing for his conquest, but, in its collapse, involves the conqueror; so that, if conquest is not to injure the conqueror, he must scrupulously respect the enemy's property,—in which case conquest becomes economically futile."

#### "THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH" REVISED

Ambassador Bryce has completed a revision of "The American Commonwealth,"<sup>10</sup> a work which was accepted many years ago as the leading authority on the political system of the United States. There are many important additions to the original text, which, however, do not affect the general plan of the work. Four chapters, on the other hand, are entirely new, and should be specifically noted. These deal, respectively, with the transmarine possessions of the United States which have been acquired since the first edition of "The

<sup>7</sup> American Railway Problems in the Light of European Experience. By Carl S. Vrooman. London: Henry Frowde. 376 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>8</sup> Tariff History of the United States. By F. W. Taussig. Putnam. 422 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>9</sup> The Great Illusion. By Norman Angell. Putnam. 388 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>10</sup> The American Commonwealth. By James Bryce. Macmillan Company. 2 vols. 1704 pp. \$4.00.

"American Commonwealth" was published; the recent influx of immigrants from Central and Southern Europe; new phases of the negro problem in the South; and the remarkable development in the past few years of American universities. The chapter on municipal government, which was contributed to the first edition by the Hon. Seth Low, has been entirely rewritten by that gentleman, and new matter of interest relating to city government and city politics has been incorporated. Throughout the work Mr. Bryce has introduced concise descriptions of what he regards as noteworthy new phenomena in American politics and society. "The American Commonwealth" first appeared in 1888 as a result of many years of searching and painstaking investigation on the part of the author. A revised and much enlarged edition appeared in 1893-95, and since that date various minor corrections and additions have, from time to time, been made. We shall make further reference to this work.

#### HISTORICAL WORKS

A useful "footnote to history" is supplied by Dr. D. Maclare Robertson's account of the French Academy from its foundation, in 1635, down to the present day.<sup>1</sup> It was in connection with his investigations into the history of the great French dictionary that Dr. Robertson became interested in the life story of one of the most famous of the world's literary institutions. He has supplied his readable volume with a number of illustrations, besides an appendix giving the names of the members of the French Academy during its history.

Mary Crawford (Mrs. Hugh) Fraser has added another to her list of entertaining and instructive books of diplomatic experiences. Her latest volume, summing up her reminiscences, is entitled "A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands."<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Fraser, as the wife of an English representative abroad whose career covered more than half a century, has seen the intimate side of diplomatic life in many European countries as well as in the United States. In the two volumes of the present work she records some very interesting memories of the Italian *Risorgimento* and of the Mexican revolution of 1867.

Two recently published volumes treat of life in ancient Rome from more intimate standpoints than those usually taken in surveying the ancient world. Miss Elizabeth W. Champney's "Romance of Imperial Rome"<sup>3</sup> tells us the stories of most of the "empresses" of the Roman state and of some of the women of less exalted rank but greater notoriety. The volume is copiously and artistically illustrated, chiefly by reproductions of famous paintings. Prof. William Stearns Davis (ancient

<sup>1</sup>The French Academy. By D. Maclare Robertson. G. W. Dillingham Company. 380 pp. \$3.

<sup>2</sup>A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. Dodd, Mead & Co. 2 vols., 678 pp., por. \$6.00.

history, University of Minnesota), in his study, "The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome,"<sup>4</sup> takes for his text the "truth" that "the Romans owed much, both of their greatness and of their ultimate failure, to the supreme estimate they put upon wealth and its concomitants."

"To gauge the great political experiment of France during the last four decades, and to make an inventory of the constructive and reformatory work of the republic,"—this has been the aim of Prof. Jean Charlemagne Bracq (Vassar) in his book "France Under the Republic."<sup>5</sup> If we bear in mind, says Professor Bracq, the complexity of the national problems and the difficulties thrown in the path of the French people,—"difficulties of history and religion which Americans have never experienced,—we shall be filled with admiration for the republicans of France who, not without making many blunders, have, on the whole, wrought so well."

#### OTHER BOOKS OF THE MONTH

In the "American Nature Series" an excellent little volume on "Insects and Disease"<sup>6</sup> is contributed by Prof. Rennie W. Doane, of Stanford University. This book gives not only a popular account, admirably illustrated, of the way in which insects may spread or cause some of our common diseases, but many helpful suggestions of practical methods to be employed in doing away with some of the most serious of our insect pests. The chapters on mosquitoes, for example, are full of encouragement for all who are interested in the warfare that is being waged against these disseminators of malaria and yellow fever. The same thing is true of the chapter devoted to house flies, or "typhoid flies."

Two recent efforts at stimulating a more intelligent reading of the Scriptures attempt to present to the modern reader the Bible in connected narrative form. In "The Old Testament Narrative,"<sup>7</sup> Mr. Alfred D. Sheffield has taken the old classic English version, separated the passages, reset them in connected order, and edited them so that the sequence of events in the modern sense is preserved. "The Narrative Bible,"<sup>8</sup> edited by Clifton Johnson, has attempted to do much the same thing, with omissions, however, of such portions as are not necessary for the connected narrative. This second volume is illustrated with reproductions of some of Gustave Doré's famous pictures.

<sup>3</sup>Romance of Imperial Rome. By Elizabeth W. Champney. Putnam. 425 pp., ill. \$3.50.

<sup>4</sup>The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome. By William Stearns Davis. Macmillan. 340 pp. \$2.

<sup>5</sup>France Under the Republic. By Jean Charlemagne Bracq. Scribner. 376 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>6</sup>Insects and Disease. By R. W. Doane. Henry Holt 227 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>7</sup>The Old Testament Narrative. Edited by Alfred Dwight Sheffield. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 510 pp., ill. \$1.50.

<sup>8</sup>The Narrative Bible. Edited by Clifton Johnson. Baker & Taylor Company. 410 pp., ill. \$1.50.

